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ABSTRACT

This document contains the working report case studies of five urban school districts studied to determine the role of the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA), Title IV of the Civil Rights Act, and Title IV enforcement by the Office of Civil Rights in school desegregation. Desegregation processes were examined in Dayton, Ohio, San Francisco, California, Chattanooga, Tennessee, Seattle, Washington, and Pueblo, Colorado. Data was compiled through interviews. For each school district information is presented on the demographic characteristics of schools and communities, the desegregation process, and Federally legislated involvement in desegregation. The unmet needs of Dayton are also discussed. Data tables and graphics are included. (MK)

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DESEGREGATION CASE STUDIES

Volume II: Appendixes
Case Study Working Reports

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Research Report — EPRC 24

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Case #1

DAYTON PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICT
Dayton, Ohio

WORKING REPORT

APPENDIX A

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I INTRODUCTION

This report, focusing on the Dayton Public School District in Dayton, Ohio, is the first in a series of case studies designed to examine the role of three federal programs in the process of desegregation. The programs of concern are the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA); Title IV of the Civil Rights Act (CRA); and enforcement of Title VI of CRA by the Office of Civil Rights (OCR). The overall objectives of the case studies are to determine the impact of these programs on desegregation in selected school districts across the nation and, on the basis of the study findings, to suggest means of optimizing future impacts of these programs.

Data for this initial report were collected by a research team of three professionals and one assistant who conducted a field study in Dayton between July 11 and 15, 1977. During this time, the site visit team talked to 40 persons individually and to 57 persons in three separate groups. Respondents from the education sector included the superintendent and other district level administrators, members of the Board of Education, building principals, community college presidents, ESAA program administrators and staff, and Title IV program administrators. Those from the community sector included business executives, religious leaders, political figures, Department of Justice staff, media representatives, civil rights attorneys, and law enforcement officers. Respondents were interviewed on topics selected from a semi-structured interview guide which were appropriate for their particular roles. In addition to the interviews, various statistical data were collected on topics such as racial enrollment and teacher assignment patterns, drop-out and attendance rates, federal funding and community employment and socioeconomic indicators.

The remainder of this report is organized as follows: Section II, "The Setting for Desegregation," describes the community and its history, including race relations and the schools. The process of desegregation, beginning in 1969 and continuing to the present, is the focus of Section III. Section IV, "Federal Legislated Involvement in Desegregation," consists of a discussion of ESAA, CRA-Title IV and OCR. An analysis of respondents' perceptions of unmet needs in Section IV and an overview in Section V concludes the report.

II THE SETTING FOR DESEGREGATION

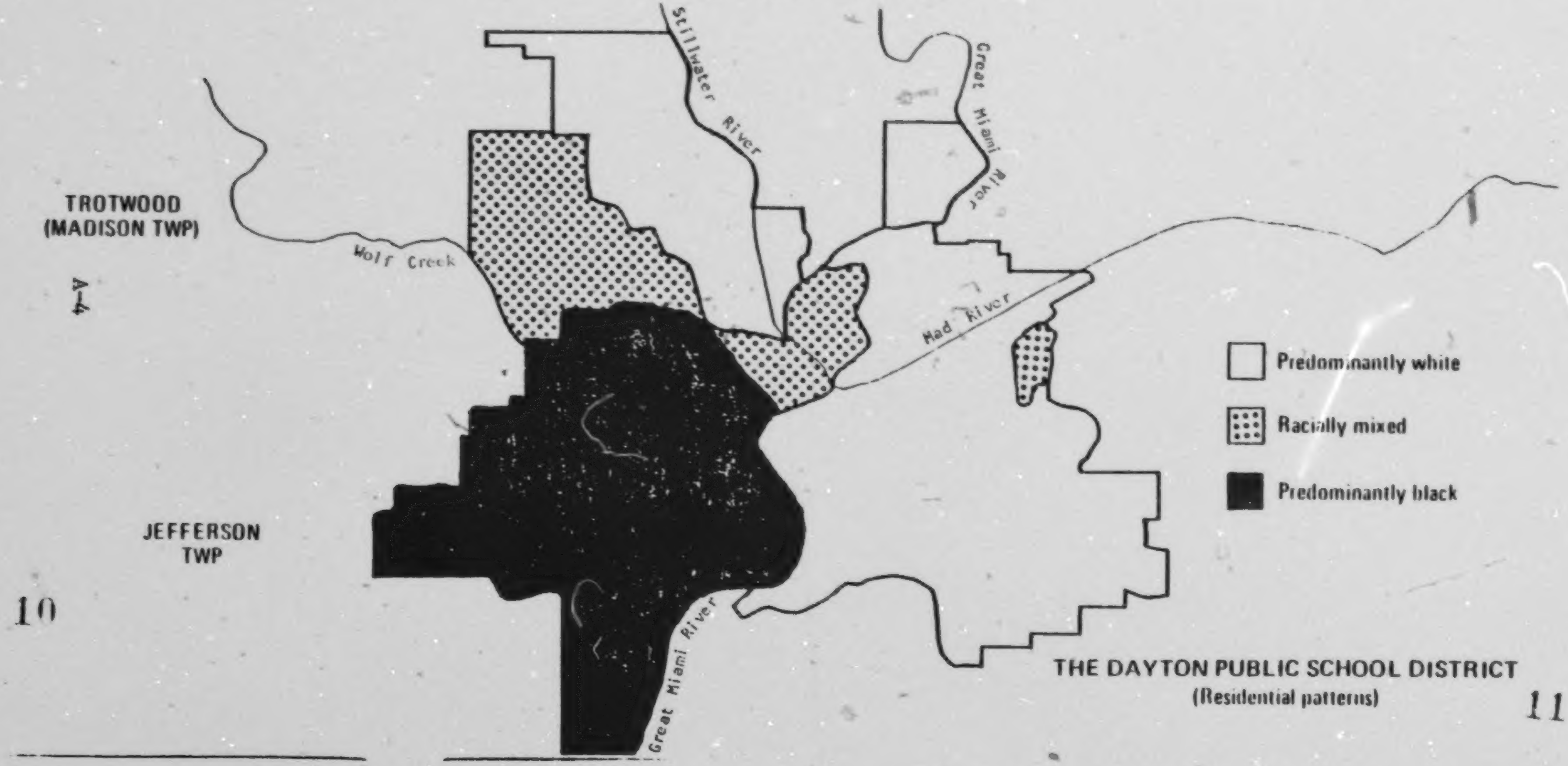
The Community and Its History

The focus of this study is the Dayton Public School District, located in Montgomery County in southwestern Ohio. The school district area, which includes about 283,000 persons, covers the city of Dayton and parts of some outlying townships. According to 1970 figures, about 85 percent of the school district's population reside within the city of Dayton; the remaining 15 percent live in the outlying areas.

The city of Dayton, located at the confluence of Wolf Creek with the Mad, Stillwater and Miami Rivers, covers about 38 square miles. Dayton is divided almost in half by the Miami River, which runs north and south; Figure 1 shows these boundaries as well as the residential patterns of the Dayton school district. This geographic setting is significant in that these waterways serve as natural boundaries that have divided Dayton, both ethnically and economically.

Two groups of substantial size characterize the internal portions of the school district: One group is black, clustering to the west of the Miami River; the other is white Appalachian, clustering to the east of the river. High concentrations of poverty appear to be at least as strongly associated with the Appalachian population on the east side as they are with the black population on the west side. Sizable numbers of Appalachians have been in Dayton since the 1930's, when they came from the Kentucky coal mining area to work in Dayton industries. Accurate counts of their numbers, however, are not available--an absence that is resented by Appalachian leaders in the community. Counts of

THE SETTING



Stillwater River
Great Miami River
TROTWOOD (MADISON TWP)
Wolf Creek
Mad River
JEFFERSON TWP
Great Miami River
□ Predominantly white
▨ Racially mixed
■ Predominantly black

THE DAYTON PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICT
(Residential patterns)

the black population indicate that in 1970 blacks made up 27 percent of the total population in the school district. Almost the entire remainder of the population was white, with other racial or ethnic groups accounting for less than one-half of one percent of the total. Since 1970, the proportion of blacks has risen an estimated five to seven percentage points.

Dayton city is surrounded by smaller incorporated communities having their own school systems. Jefferson Township to the southwest and Trotwood-Madison to the northwest are desegregated suburban systems; all other surrounding school districts are predominately white. Black families who achieve a financial base offering some social mobility frequently move to either Jefferson or Trotwood-Madison Township. The movement of Appalachian white families with increased financial stature is generally further to the east in Dayton or to all-white southern suburbs.

The distribution of Dayton employment by major industrial classification closely parallels that for the U.S. as a whole: manufacturing, 33.9%; government, 19%; retail, 16.8%; and service and miscellaneous, 13.6%. An estimated 35% of the manufacturing labor force consists of skilled workers; an additional 30% are semi-skilled. Although unemployment has dropped from 7.4% in 1976 to 5.7% in 1977, new jobs dropped from a high of 6,250 in 1974 to almost half that number in 1976--3,335. The number of new businesses opening in Dayton was likewise reduced almost in half during the same period.

Recent figures show that Dayton is one of the fastest population losers in the group of 100 largest U.S. cities. This statistic causes considerable concern to city planners and chamber of commerce officials, as well as to some business leaders. Opponents of desegregation point to this decline as an indication of the extent of white flight from Dayton since desegregation has become an issue here.

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Others, however, view this as normal outmigration, particularly to larger metropolitan areas relatively nearby.

Although most of Dayton's business and industrial leaders live in the suburbs surrounding the city, many remain interested in Dayton's civic life, as evidenced by their active participation in the process of school desegregation. This participation is seen as part of a tradition of business and industry involvement in community affairs that dates back to the last century. One of the earliest and best known Daytonians in this regard was John Patterson, perhaps America's first humanitarian industrial leader, who in 1884 founded the National Cash Register (NCR) Corporation in Dayton and did much to attract attention to the city, which he wanted to be the best in the world. Another civic-minded Daytonian was Charles F. Kettering, who established a research foundation in his name in the 1920s. Numerous other inventive citizens have contributed to the Dayton reputation of civic involvement. Some business leaders, current as well as past, are believed to devote as much time to community problems as they do to their own business affairs.

The foundations of Dayton's political system were also laid by these early leaders. Patterson introduced the present city manager form of government to Dayton in the early 1900s. At about the same time a progressive group called the All-Dayton Committee began helping to broaden participation in city government by nominating persons of diverse interests for the city's public offices. This tradition of citizen participation in city government was expanded with the advent of the Model Cities Program in the late 1960s. A central part of the program was the Model Cities Planning Council--a quasi-governmental entity with Social Service, Health, Employment and Education components that operated on an equal-partnership arrangement with the analogous city institutions. Local citizens participated in each of these components, and through the components federal funds were made available to the city. As an outgrowth of the program, the entire city of Dayton is now divided into "priority boards" comprised of elected neighborhood representatives who provide direct input to city agencies and thus to city policy formation.

Dayton Schools

Staffing and Enrollment

During the school year 1976-77, the Dayton school system contained 53 elementary schools (Kindergarten through eighth grade) and nine high schools (grades 9-12). Staffing these schools were 1298 full-time-equivalent faculty members in the elementary schools and 729 in the high schools. (These figures included all full-time, regular and special teachers, learning center teachers and librarians, and part-time traveling teachers.) Forty percent of the elementary school faculties and 31% of the high school faculties are minority group members. Since the voluntary staff desegregation in 1970-71, the minority faculty members have been quite evenly distributed among schools: For 1976-77, the range in percentage minority was from 34% to 46%.

Enrollment for 1976-77 was 41,177 students, of whom 13,660 attended high school and 27,517 attended elementary school (including pre-school). Fifty-three percent of the total students are blacks, with the percentage black at individual schools ranging from 10 to 100%. (This range is somewhat misleading because the two schools representing these extremes had enrollments of only 93 and 29 students, respectively.) Forty-five of the 62 schools have black enrollments that are within 15 percentage points of the district-wide average of 53%.

Before the 1976-77 year (and the extensive court-ordered desegregation that accompanied it), the schools were highly segregated. In 1975-76, for example, 22 of the 63 schools were at least 90% black, and 16 were at least 90% white. Only nine of the schools were within 15 percentage points of the district-wide average of 49% black. See Table 1 for a display of the changes in these figures between 1975-76 and 1976-77.

Data for the past 15 years indicate that the percentage black enrollment in the city schools has been increasing steadily from about 31% in 1963-64. Overall district enrollment, in contrast, has been declining at the rate of about 2,000 students a year since at least 1969-70, when enrollment was 58,287. As noted in the preceding section, the extent to which this decline is attributable to desegregation is the focus of some disagreement.

With the declining enrollment has come a slight decrease in the pupil-faculty ratio. During the 1974-75 school year, this ratio was about 23:1 for elementary schools and 20:1 for high schools. For the 1975-76 school year the comparable figures were 22:1 and 21:1, respectively; and for 1976-77, the figures were 21:1 and 19:1.

Dropout and Attendance Rates

Dropout rates by school for each of Dayton's high schools were available for the years 1962-63 through 1976-77. Inspection of these data indicates that dropout rates fluctuated considerably both from school to school and from year to year, ranging from 0.3% of the student body to 19.2%. No clear patterns, either over time or according to the racial composition of the school, are apparent. (Although the range across all high schools runs from a low of 6.0% in 1962-63 to a high of 9.3% in 1976-77, the intervening years indicate that the trend has been curvi-linear rather than linear, with an intermediate high of 9.0% having been reached in 1967-68.) No data were available on dropout rates by race.

Attendance rates were available for all schools for the years 1975-76 and 1976-77. The average across all elementary schools was 91.6% for the first year (preceding desegregation) and 90.9% for the

Table 1

Selected Racial Distribution Measures, Dayton Public Schools, 1975-76 and 1976-77

	1975-76	1976-77
Schools with 90% or more black students	35%	2%
Schools with 90% or more white students	25%	2%
District-wide percentage of minority students	49%	53%
Schools within 15 percentage points of district-wide minority percentage	14%	73%

second year (following desegregation). Comparable figures for the high schools are 84.8% and 84.3%, respectively. Thus, attendance does not seem to have been affected by desegregation. There are likewise no consistent differences among schools according to their racial composition. No data were available on attendance rates by race.

Enrollment in Non-Public Schools

Data on non-public schools in Dayton indicate that, in contrast to declining public school enrollments, total non-public enrollments increased 11% between 1975-76 and 1976-77, from 6,034 to 6,709. White enrollments increased 12%, from 5,124 to 5,749; and black enrollments increased 8%, from 843 to 907.

Funds and Resources

Of the eight largest Ohio cities, Dayton ranks highest in expenditures per pupil: $1,486 in 1975-76. Tax valuation per pupil is $26,350, second highest of the eight cities (behind Cincinnati). However, when municipal education spending is viewed as a percent of tax valuation, Dayton is second lowest, at 5.5%. The reason for this apparent discrepancy is that expenditures per student include not only the funds that Dayton makes available out of its valuation, but also the very considerable funds that the school district obtains from the state (for both regular and special programs) and from the federal government. The amount of regular program funds received from the state was not available. The combined amount of federal funds and special program funds received from the state was $28 million in 1975-76 (about $618 per pupil).

Title I funds received in 1975-76 totaled $1,723,764. These funds served an estimated 2,702 pupils at 35 elementary schools. In 1976-77, the first year of major ESAA funding, $1,822,054 in Title I funds were received; these served an estimated 1,719 pupils in 21 elementary schools. The average Title I expenditures per pupil served therefore rose 66%, from $638 in 1975-76 to $1,060 in 1976-77. Information was not readily obtainable regarding the amount of Title I funds spent at each school or the amount spent by race of recipients. (The relationship between ESAA and Title I funding is discussed in the Appendix.)

The state Disadvantaged Pupil Program Fund also provides funds for compensatory education. In 1975-76, this program provided $1,700,624 to Dayton. The number of schools served and the number of participants in the program are not known.

Race Relations and the Schools

A number of interrelated developments in Dayton in the late 1960s laid the groundwork for both the movement toward and the resistance of school desegregation in the 1970s.

The Model Cities Program: Through this program, a step toward quality education was made in the predominantly black schools of west Dayton, and school leadership and organization was promoted. Model Cities ultimately may have helped make the black schools somewhat more attractive to whites when desegregation finally occured, but, more immediately, it enabled blacks to increase their power base in the school district.

The Community Affairs Committee: Founded in 1966 by a local religious leader and civil rights activist, this Committee was a biracial group of businessmen, clergymen, media representatives, and so on. The group held monthly meetings to work on community problems and to promote open dialogue and cooperation between the city's black and white populations. In so doing, it set the stage for the considerable cooperation and planning that went into the current desegregation effort.

A new superintendent: In 1967, a Mormon from Texas was appointed superintendent of Dayton Schools. Though from a moderate background, the new superintendent was "galvanized" into action by visits to ghetto schools and became an outspoken advocate of desegregation and quality education. Under his leadership (1967-1972), two major innovations were introduced to Dayton's schools: middle schools and Individually Guided Education (IGE). Although no schools were desegregated under his leadership, a number of respondents felt that his attempt at desegregation simultaneously with the introduction of other innovations was his major mistake. He tried to go too fast and without sufficient planning, it is felt, and in doing so he alienated a large segment of the white population. On the other hand, it is reported that he became "virtually a saint" to many blacks. More than any other single person, it was this man who began Dayton's move toward desegregation.

The Black Separatist Movement: Paralleling the rise of the national movement, the black separatist movement in Dayton heightened the demand for black power in the schools (as well as elsewhere). The local leader of this movement was director of the education component of the Model Cities program. His relatively militant actions and statements led to a number of clashes with the district administration in general and the superintendent in particular. When he was ultimately discharged from his Model Cities position, he proceeded to campaign against the liberal contingent on the school board. This split, in combination with the white backlash from the rising black militance, was partly responsible for the rise to power of a new conservative element.

Racial Incidents in the Schools: Beginning in about 1969, the combination of 1) zoning changes that led to some desegregated schools and 2) the rise of black separatism, led to a series of racial incidents that lasted until almost 1972. School officials felt powerless against the series of rock-throwing incidents and gang attacks that occurred, with injuries to both whites and blacks. Described as "traumatic" by a school board member at the time, this period gave Daytonians a taste of the violence that can accompany desegregation.

"Serving Our Schools": It is not surprising that during this period a conservative anti-busing group named "Serving Our Schools" (SOS) came into some considerable power. An outgrowth of a group called the Landlords' Association, SOS' original motivation was evidently to stop the rise in property taxes. The leader of the group, an increasingly vocal spokesman at school board meetings and elsewhere, was a vice principal in one of Dayton's schools. Running on an anti-busing, neighborhood school plank, three SOS members were elected to the school board in 1969, leaving liberals on the board with a scant 4-3 majority. During the following year, a confrontation between the superintendent and the SOS leader ended in the demotion and then the resignation of the SOS leader. He subsequently ran in the 1971 school board election and won, giving the conservatives a majority on the board that remains to the present.

III THE PROCESS OF DESEGREGATION

Early Desegregation Efforts (1970-1975)

In March, 1969, the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) informed the Dayton School District administrators that the district was out of compliance with prevailing Title VI guidelines regarding faculty assignments. In December of that year, the Board of Education (still with a liberal majority at this time) adopted a resolution agreeing to comply by desegregating the staff based on the 70-30 (white-black) ratio existing at that time. The following school year (1970-71) the school staffs were desegregated under the leadership of the progressive superintendent described in the previous section. There was considerable opposition to this move from the faculty, and bitterness and hostility reportedly prevailed for several years. Some felt that the major effect of this change was that predominantly white schools ended up with the better teachers. However, there is consensus today that this early move helped to ease the student desegregation when it finally came in 1976.

Following the staff desegregation, the superintendent requested additional information regarding student assignment from OCR, and on a number of occasions OCR sent technical guidelines explaining how to come into compliance regarding student assignment. In 1971, the superintendent reportedly urged OCR to cite the district for non-compliance in terms of student enrollment, but no action was taken.

At about the same time, a broad-based citizens' committee was formed to study the desegregation issue; in November, 1971, they produced a recommendation to desegregate. Unfortunately for the recommendation, its issuance coincided with the election of the fourth SOS member--the group's leader--to the school board, giving anti-desegregation members a majority on the board.

Almost the last act taken by the liberal-majority school board was to admit in writing to non-compliance with CRA-Title VI regulations and to vote for desegregation. As part of the resolution, the state was called upon to develop a statewide desegregation plan.

One of the first acts taken by the newly elected conservative-majority school board was to rescind the desegregation decision; this they did in January of 1972. In June, they fired the superintendent and replaced him with a person more conservative and less outspoken.

In April of 1972, the NAACP sued the Dayton Public School District, arguing the case on three grounds:

1. Substantial imbalance existed in student enrollment patterns.
2. Attendance zones were optional.
3. The present school board had rescinded the resolutions admitting to these inequities that were passed by the previous board.

In February, 1973, the Dayton Board of Education was ordered by the District Court to submit a plan to eliminate segregation in the Dayton public schools. In the ensuing three years, the board submitted two plans to the court, each designed to improve the racial balances in the schools through voluntary participation. The methods to be used included freedom of enrollment, open enrollment, and diverse magnet schools and programs. Each plan was found acceptable by the District Court but each was subsequently ruled inadequate by Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals.

The Current Desegregation Plan

With the disapproval of the second plan, the Appeals Court ordered the District Court to adopt a system-wide plan for the 1976-77 school year. Accordingly, the District judge appointed a Master to develop a plan to satisfy the requirements of the Appeals Court.

In August of 1975, during the development of this plan, the Master was assassinated as he sat in his office. The impact of this death on the community of Dayton was similar to that experienced during the riots of 1968; many think that the abhorrence and shock felt by Daytonians was a major factor in the non-violent desegregation process that ultimately ensued.

In December of 1975, the U.S. district judge issued the desegregation order currently in force, mandating a black/white racial balance at each school of 48%/52% (plus or minus 15 percentage points). A second court-appointed Master developed the final plan, which took effect on September 1, 1976. Details of the plan include:

- Reconstruction of attendance zones, where feasible
- Pairing/clustering of schools so that each child spends one year in a school near home, and the next year in a school farther away, to which he/she is bused.
- Continuance of existing magnet schools and special education centers
- Abolishment of middle schools and reorganization of the school system under the 8-4 concept.

Implementing the Court Order

Upon receiving the court order, the Board of Education authorized the district administration to proceed with implementation of the plan. At the same time, they appealed the case to the Supreme Court.

Meanwhile, a court-appointed monitoring committee undertook the job of overseeing the planning and implementation process. The community leaders identified to serve on the "Dayton Citizens' Advisory Board" (DCAB) were hand-picked by the district judge, based on recommendations received from many groups and individuals. Selection of the DCAB members and the careful planning undertaken by them were felt to be key steps in the desegregation process. A major planning objective was the avoidance of further violence in Dayton's desegregation efforts. As a first step in the planning process, DCAB members studied four major cities recently involved in desegregation (Denver, Louisville, Detroit and Boston). Visits were made to each of the cities in the hope that a model of desegregation could be found that could also be successfully applied in Dayton. Unable to find such a model but drawing on lessons learned from the cities studied, the DCAB designed their own plan, concentrating on five functional areas:

1. School relations
2. Transportation and safety
3. Community relations
4. Student organization
5. Monitoring of implementation

Committees were formed in each of these areas and staffed by volunteer workers from the community.

The cooperation received from the community went far beyond what the DCAB had suggested or initiated. Assistance came from all sectors--business and industry, local government, neighborhood groups, religious groups, law enforcement, and media. Business leaders had been planning quietly for desegregation since August of the preceding year; one executive had even been a participant observer in the Louisville desegregation effort, attending citizen's rallies, mingling with Nazi Party leaders, marching with protestors, and talking with concerned parents. In the main, business and industry worked behind the scenes, supporting and securing the cooperation of the school board.

Governmental and political officials in Dayton were active participants in the desegregation effort. The mayor led the effort with a message calling for peaceful desegregation. A framework for action was prepared, involving three full-time and six part-time city hall employees. Neighborhood coalitions were organized in priority board areas to host neighborhood meetings for parents, act as bus stop assistants, arrange for speakers etc. A city-wide door-knocking campaign was launched to answer questions about desegregation. An information and rumor control phone line was available on a 24-hour basis.

At least half of Dayton's churches were active in the planning effort, led by the director of the Metropolitan Churches United. Seminars were held in advance and on the opening day of school, and 24-hour prayer vigils were observed at several locations.

Representatives of the two newspapers, five radio stations, and one TV station in Dayton were also active participants. Groundwork for their participation was laid early; press members investigated the participation of their counterparts in other cities, trying to determine to what extent press coverage had exacerbated the existing problems. One radio station put Dayton school principals on the air to relay the facts of desegregation to the community.

Through all of this extensive effort, school district officials were active, if not enthusiastic, participants in the desegregation effort. An administrative task force was formed to develop a timeline to insure that planning was coordinated between all departments. Committees worked on pupil assignment, busing routes, and the other details that accompany a major realignment such as desegregation. Transportation needs had doubled since the previous year, increasing from 80 to 160 buses. Two-way radios were installed in the buses and a complex communications and a complex communications system was set up involving five separate radio networks, the state police, and the county sheriff.

The costs associated with the desegregation effort were high. Early in the process, the DCAB formed a Task Force to investigate all funding possibilities. Business and industry cooperated by conducting an analysis of what funds the school district had in relation to what the needs were; they determined that there was an "extreme" shortage of funding. No sources of financial assistance could be located in either state or federal agencies. In the end, with no other recourse available, business and industrial leaders themselves contributed almost $100,000 for school desegregation.

On the opening day of school, numerous monitors--plain clothes policemen, members of the DCAB, business people--were strategically located throughout the community but not highly visible. Contingency plans had been made in case violence erupted, e.g., police riot sections were ready to go into action, and certain individuals were prepared, vigilante style, to take rabble rousers out of town if the need arose.

As it happened, no disturbance of any kind occurred. In short, all respondents agreed that the desegregation of the Dayton School District took place smoothly, as meticulously planned through many long weeks of effort.

Significant Factors in the Desegregation Process

Dayton has had a number of inquiries from other cities wishing to replicate the successful Dayton desegregation experience. As in any complex social change, however, differing and sometimes contradictory interpretations have been offered. Some respondents felt the main ingredients in Dayton's success were the city's long-standing tradition of civic commitment and the extensive involvement of key community leaders in desegregation planning. Similarly, others cited widespread community participation as the key to success. The Director of the Dayton Citizens' Advisory Board summarized the experience this way:

> Desegregation in Dayton was peaceful and judged by many to be successful because there was coordinated planning by all relevant sectors of the community. There was no czar of planning, no single factor or force which was more important than any other in the total effort.

In contrast, one respondent maintained that, in fact, all segments of the community were not involved in the desegregation effort. According to this respondent, grass roots involvement was not obtained in either the planning or implementation process. In a similar vein, another respondent cited community apathy, not involvement, as the reason for the peaceful desegregation, stating:

> Everyone wants credit for the peaceful way the desegregation effort went. But the truth of the matter is this: The reason desegregation was peaceful is that Dayton is an apathetic town.

Other existing conditions are also frequently cited as determining the desegregation effort outcome. Several respondents suggested that hostilities and opposition had been worked out over the lengthy five-year period preceding the implementation of the desegregation order. Teacher respondents claimed the prior desegregation of staff was largely responsible for the success of student desegregation, since many other communities with major desegregation problems have had to desegregate students and staff at the same time.

In what seems to be a paradox, others see the opposition of the school board to forced desegregation as a key factor in the success of the process. They point out as critical the fact that "the only viable anti-busing leadership we've had is on the Board of Education." Community acceptance of the plan, they say, could have been much different had not the school board politics been resolved the way they were, when they were. The fact that the school board turned in an appeal to the Supreme Court while ostensibly going along with the court order appeased dissenters and potential perpetrators of violence, because it showed that their cause was not being abandoned. Liberal critics of the board as well as members of the conservative SOS group attest to this. School district officials who claim that community dissenters were appeased through this action estimate the number of desegregation opponents to be anywhere from 70% to 90% of the community. As the superintendent pointed out in October, 1976:

> The fact that we're going to take this thing to the Supreme Court is still a key point, even now. But not to fight it out in the streets--that's all we asked them to do.

Some observers who have been involved in the Dayton political scene since the days of the Model Cities program and the black separatist movement maintain that if the old liberal school board had been in charge at the time of desegregation planning, the community would have been blown apart.

Probably all of the above factors played a role in contributing to the success or peacefulness of Dayton's desegregation effort. In combination, they set up a situation in which the forces working for a peaceful desegregation were broad-based and well-organized, while the forces against a peaceful process--if they existed at all--were small and lacking in organization as well as in spokespersons. The overall result was seemingly that the "forces for peace" in effect pre-empted all the prime time spots.

The Current Status of Desegregation

In July 1977, the Supreme Court handed down its decision on the Dayton case, stating that the findings of fact and law did not support the plan ordered by the district judge for desegregating the schools. The order was therefore remanded to the District Court, and the district judge was ordered to take another look at his previous busing order to determine if a system-wide remedy was constitutionally called for. The high court left to the District Court the decision of whether or not Dayton's one-year-old busing plan should continue until a final order was reached.

Almost all respondents felt the Supreme Court did a disservice to the Dayton community when it handed down this decision. Reactions ranged from simple surprise to outrage. In the view of some, the decision was seen as a vindication of the school board position and an invitation to return to a much weaker form of desegregation. School board members do indeed appear to feel that their case will be won eventually; however, they also feel that the Supreme Court should have made a more definitive decision instead of remanding the case to the local court.

Others view the decision as reopening old controversies and as causing the community to start all over again in its attempt to comply with federal desegregation law. Some go so far as to hold the judicial system responsible for many of the problems associated with desegregation. As one respondent stated:

> Most of the chaos has been created by various forms of confusion in the courts, starting right here with the federal district judge. The Supreme Court decision now puts the plan back in the District Court where the problems lie. Not just here but in many other places, there is extreme variability among district judges.

At the present time, the district is grudgingly going ahead with the current desegregation plan to bus half of the students at least through the first semester. Saying he was faced with "a choice of unsatisfactory alternatives," the district judge scheduled new hearings for October, 1977, and, over the school board's objections, ruled that the Dayton School District must continue busing at least through the fall term.

IV FEDERAL LEGISLATED INVOLVEMENT IN DESEGREGATION

The United States Congress has enacted two major laws related to school desegregation that are currently in force:

1. The Civil Rights Act of 1964: The central provision of this act is Title VI, which prohibits racial discrimination by recipients of Federal aid. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has assigned responsibility for the enforcement of that prohibition to the Office for Civil Rights (OCR). OCR's role includes both monitoring of and enforcing Title VI among Federal aid recipients, including public elementary and secondary schools. Within recent years, OCR's purview has expanded to cover discrimination against women, limited-English-speaking students, the handicapped, and the aged, as well as racial discrimination. Title IV of the Civil Rights Act established a program of technical assistance and training for districts drawing up or implementing a required desegregation plan.

2. The Emergency School Aid Act of 1972: Through this act, the Congress provided for financial assistance to school districts (1) to meet special needs arising from school desegregation; (2) to encourage the voluntary reduction of minority group isolation in schools with substantial proportions of minority group students; and (3) to aid school children in overcoming the educational disadvantages of minority group isolation. ESAA funds may be used for a variety of purposes, including compensatory education, human relations, staff training, and community relations. They may not be used for busing. Until now, most ESAA funds have been used to support compensatory education efforts in desegregating schools.

The activities of these three programs (ESAA, CRA-Title IV, and OCR) in Dayton are the focus of this chapter.

The Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA)

Funding

Dayton's first ESAA funds ($287,676) were received as a Special Projects grant for the school year 1974-75. The next funds received came under a Non-Profit Organization (NPO) grant to the Urban-Rural Joint Task Force for the school year 1975-76, totaling $325,462. This program was an outgrowth of the Urban-Rural School Development Cooperative, funded since 1971 by the Education Professions Development Act to help bring about a closer relationship between Dayton schools and community. During these early years of ESAA funding (1974-1976), the district was operating under the two early desegregation plans that focussed on open enrollment and magnet programs. It may be recalled from Chapter III that these plans were first approved by the District Court and later ruled inadequate by the Appeals Court.

Since the large scale desegregation effort was ordered by the District Court in December, 1975, Dayton's ESAA funds have increased substantially. For the school year 1976-77, Dayton received a total of $2,255,948 from a Basic grant, an NPO grant, and two Special Project grants. For the school year 1977-78, a total of $4,508,767 was received from Basic, Special Projects, and NPO grants. Table 1 summarizes Dayton's ESAA funding.

Proposal Development and Content

Proposals for Basic Projects grants from 1974 through 1976 were written largely by Dr. Frederick Gies, Consultant for Education Improvement, from Columbia, Missouri. Several district-level administrators provided input, and the Title IV General Assistance Center at Kent State

Table 2

DAYTON ESAA FUNDS

	Type of Grant		
Year	Basic	NPO*	Special Project
1974-75	$ 0	$ 0	$287,676
1975-76	0	325,462	0
1976-77	1,674,584	145,653	435,711 (2 grants)
1977-78	3,478,401	154,526	875,840 (2 grants)

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*Urban-Rural Joint Task Force

University provided technical assistance. Also, a sample of elementary and secondary school teachers provided input in January, 1976, through their responses to a questionnaire dealing with perceived needs relating to teaching.

In each proposal, the largest portion of funds requested was for remedial math programs. Other components were remedial reading programs, in-service training, and "student affective needs" (counseling and home visits). The 1976 Basic proposal also included a request for funds for a multi-ethnic learning and resource center, but this component was not funded.

Justification for the emphasis on math was based on Dayton pupils' low achievement scores relative to the national average. Math was selected over reading (on which Dayton pupils also scored relatively low) because special reading programs already existed in the schools under Title I and under the state Disadvantaged Pupil Program Fund (DPPF). In addition, minutes from an ESAA advisory committee meeting on November 11, 1975, show that a spokesman for the district stated that an ESAA program officer in Washington had indicated the involvement should be in the area of math. At a meeting the following year (September 18, 1976) the ESAA project director stated that the "leadership of the school system decided reading and math should be the focus of any special assistance program."

The Urban-Rural NPO proposal for 1975-76 was written largely by the current ESAA director, then the director of the Urban-Rural program. For the following school year (1976-77), the Urban-Rural and ESAA district-level staffs worked together to produce the proposal. The amount of input by district and school staff is not known. The first of the two proposals originally requested over $1 million, but the superintendent's withdrawal of his endorsement reportedly led to the project being funded for only about $325,000. The funding cutback in turn necessitated a cutback in the scope of the project, leaving only math and reading centers out of an original program that included in-service training and community relations components as well as the remedial programs.

The NPO proposal for 1976-77 specified a program to supplement the Basic project with reading and math tutorials and community liaison personnel in five pairs of schools. When the funds received were less than the amount requested, the number of schools to be served was reduced to three.

The Special Projects proposal written for 1976-77 also was designed to supplement the Basic project. It provided for remedial math centers in five schools and in-service training not allowed under the Basic grant because of a court order specifying that in-service training be provided by the district. Data provided by the Washington EEO office indicates that two separate Special Projects grants were received by Dayton for 1976-77, one for over $300,000 and the other for about $75,000. The proposal described here resulted in the larger grant. The origins and nature of the smaller grant are not known.

Staffing and Activities

1976-77 Basic and Special Projects: In combination, the 1976-77 Basic and Special Projects consisted of six components: a mathematics program, a reading program, an affective needs (counseling) program, instructional in-service, human relations in-service, and program evaluation.

- Math and reading: These were diagnostic and prescriptive programs designed to serve students two or more years below their grade level in math/reading achievement. The math program involved approximately 100 children in grades five through eight in each of 32 elementary schools and 100 children in grades nine and ten in each of nine high schools. The reading program involved about 125 children in grades five through eight in each of 11 elementary schools. A full-time teacher and aide staffed the programs in every school except for the two with only 60 children. One teacher and one aide served both these schools. In both programs, children were selected for participation on the basis of their scores on a criterion-referenced test. When it became evident that the original criterion of two or more years below grade level would not provide sufficient numbers of children to meet proposal goals, the criterion was moved to one year below grade level. Also, some fourth graders were included. In an attempt to reduce class sizes to what was felt to be more manageable numbers, children with the greatest deficits attended the ESAA class every day for one period. This accounted for about one third of the total participants. Most of the other children attended the ESAA class two or three times a week.

- Affective Needs: Under this component, a counselor and a paraprofessional "home visitor" were assigned to each of Dayton's nine high schools with the general goal of assisting students who demonstrated difficulty in adjusting to the desegrated school setting. Generally, this meant white students who had transferred into previously black schools, and black students who had transferred into previously white schools. (A majority of the counselors were white.) Specific goals were to help re-enroll dropouts; reduce inappropriate school behavior (including truancy); provide group guidance sessions relating to human relations, self-concept, and problems relating to minority group isolation; involve parents in the above goals; and keep parents informed of the progress and needs of their children.

- Instructional In-Service: Continuing in-service training was provided to all ESAA staff relating primarily to technical issues of instructional techniques, use of diagnostic tests, and so on. All teachers and aides attended one- to two-hour sessions three or four times per month for most of the school year. More sessions were held during the second half of the year than during the first half.

- Human Relations In-Service: This component was intended to provide human relations training for all teachers in the district. Ten days of workshops were held in August, 1976--five two-day workshops with approximately 200 teachers participating in each. However, as noted previously, a court order instructing the district to provide this training prohibited the Basic project from continuing these activities, so this function was transferred to the Special Project. It was March, 1977, before any training was provided under the Special Project. At this time, a series of two "Key Leaders" workshops were given for six staff and community members from each school in how to perform a school needs assessment. These sessions were followed by 43 school workshops that were designed by the "key leaders" to meet the needs assessed. These workshops were provided in cooperation with the Title IV General Assistance Center at Kent State University, which helped plan the workshops and funded three leaders for the two main workshops.

- Program Evaluation: An evaluation of the ESAA Basic Program was contracted out to Humanistic Managment Systems (HMS) at Wayne State University. The HMS evaluation consisted of several site visits to Dayton schools implementing ESAA program, during which time observations of program operations were made and ESAA staff were interviewed. Also, pre- and post-test data for ESAA math and reading students were analyzed; written evaluations of the program by ESAA teaching staff were reviewed; and ESAA quarterly reports and other relevant data were analyzed. Two reports were produced, an interim report in April, 1977, and a final report in August, 1977.

Staff for the Basic and Special Projects consisted of about 130 full-time persons. In addition to the teaching specialists, counselors, and paraprofessionals enumerated above, the program supported the following administrative staff:

Director

On-Site Implentation Coordinator

Human Relations In-Service Coordinator

Reading Supervisor

Math Supervisors (3)

Clerical Staff (5)

The Affective Needs staff were supervised by the district-paid counseling supervisor who was in charge of regular district counselors as well as the ESAA counselors.

Almost all project staff were recruited and selected by the project director over a two-month period during the summer of 1976. Most of the teaching staff came from teaching positions within the district; according to various reports, they represent the "cream of the crop" of Dayton teachers.

1976-1977 NPO Project: The NPO project for 1976-77 supported ten tutors and ten aides working part-time in five ESAA elementary schools tutoring children in reading and math. In addition, two community service persons worked with the administrative and teaching staffs and parents in three elementary schools. Their major goals were to reduce student absenteeism and increase parent involvement in the schools. The project was administered by a full-time director supported by a secretary.

1977-78 Projects: Basic and NPO projects for the 1977-78 school year were scheduled to contain components similar to those funded for the 1976-77 year. The tremendous increase in the funding level of the Basic project has enabled that program to be expanded considerably. There will be 24 reading centers and 51 math centers, plus additional supervisory staff for the teaching specialists. Also, a full-time ESAA Affective Needs Coordinator will be added to the staff.

Reporting Relationships and Interactions

[Note: Interviews and data collection focused primarily on experiences with the ESAA Basic and Special Projects in the school year immediately preceding the site visit (i.e., 1976-77). The remainder of the discussion of ESAA reflects this focus.]

The ESAA director reports directly to the district superintendent; other ESAA administrative staff in turn report to the director, and ESAA teaching, counseling, and paraprofessional staff report both to their ESAA supervisor and to the principal of their school. Evidently, the ESAA-funded school staff report to the ESAA supervisor on matters relating to their teaching performance and materials, and to the principal on such issues as discipline and faculty duties. It is not totally clear who has the ultimate authority, though it is probably the ESAA director since ESAA is paying the salaries. However, the ESAA supervisory staff appeared to be sensitive to potential conflicts with school administrators.

Mixed reports were received regarding the level of interaction between ESAA and district staff. Some respondents reported that the two staffs worked together closely to integrate ESAA programs with the regular school program and to coordinate staff training programs. Others viewed ESAA as essentially an independent entity having little interaction with district staff. The latter view is given some support by the finding reported by the evaluation team that integration of each of the ESAA programs with the regular school curriculum should be an "essential objective" for the succeeding year. The physical separation of the two staffs (the district and ESAA offices are several miles apart) lends additional credence to this view.

ESAA counselors and teachers reported (both to the site visitors and in response to a program evaluation questionnaire in the spring) that they felt there was a lack of communication and coordination among ESAA specialists, ESAA supervisors, and school administrations. They felt considerable uncertainty existed on all sides about guidelines, roles, and so on. As an example of this paucity of communication, it was not until January that the district administration arranged a meeting in which the ESAA director explained the program to the building principals. One principal reported that he still did not have a clear idea of ESAA's objectives, and several ESAA faculty members concurred that principals often were not very knowledgeable about ESAA.

Of the ESAA staff at school sites, the teaching personnel evidently interacted more successfully with the regular faculty than did the counseling staff. The success of the teaching staff in this regard was attributed largely to their full and active participation in staff activities, which was strongly encouraged by the ESAA administrative staff. The greater difficulty experienced by the counseling staff is probably due to a number of factors: relative to the teaching staff, the counselors worked under less clearly defined objectives and were less closely supervised, the result being that they were quite independent. Regular counselors reportedly tended to resent the fact that ESAA counselors had none of the scheduling and other tedious duties that they themselves had. And some principals, we were told, did not like their lack of control over the ESAA counselors. A contributing factor here was a conflict in goals: some principals felt that troublemakers are best left as dropouts, while one of the ESAA counselors' goals was to convince the dropouts to return to school.

ESAA staff interactions with Title IV and Title I staffs have reportedly been of a low level. As noted above, a few workshops have been funded jointly by ESAA and the Title IV GAC at Kent State University, and in 1975 the Central State University Title IV Training Institute put on a workshop specifically for ESAA staff. Interaction with Title I staff has evidently consisted of occasional meetings between the ESAA director and the Title I coordinator. The 1976-77 evaluation report comments on the lack of integration between ESAA and district programs, suggesting that ESAA and Title I may not be well integrated.

Interactions between the ESAA staff (primarily the director) and the state education department have reportedly been frequent, including visits to or from Columbus occurring at least monthly. Technical assistance, advice, and moral support are provided, and the ESAA director feels she has a "warm" relationship with the state office. The Washington EEO office, on the other hand, is seen as generally unresponsive and unaware of local needs. Contact with the EEO regional office in Chicago appears to be minimal except during proposal submission season, at which time there is often a series of exchanges regarding proposal content.

Perceptions of the Program

With a very few exceptions, respondents who were familiar with the ESAA program were enthusiastic about it. Program administration was felt to be excellent; one respondent noted that the director is very effective in spite of being in a highly political position.

The most visible aspects of the program are the remedial reading and math components, and these received the most comment. ESAA staff cited test results showing that ESAA students had achieved an average of nine months' growth after only eight months in the program. These results are open to some question because an unspecified but evidently substantial number of children failed to take either the pre- or post-test and thus could not be included in the calculations. Nevertheless, there seemed to be a general feeling that the program had indeed improved student achievement.

Respondents cited the high quality of the teaching staff and the small ESAA class sizes as major factors in the program's success. Principals in particular tended to look upon the ESAA specialists at their schools as outstanding individuals who had gained the respect of both faculty and students. ESAA staff also felt that the "quality education" provided through ESAA helped allay fears regarding desegregation. They cited instances of parents allowing their children to attend a desegregated school ostensibly only because the ESAA program was available there. ESAA teachers commented further that the small class sizes enabled the black and white students to get to know one another as individuals.

The ESAA counselors, too, felt that they had made a "real impact," though they were unable to provide any concrete evidence to support their belief. Regular counselors, they asserted, are unable to spend much time actually counseling because they are too busy with paperwork and helping students to set up class schedules. In contrast, the ESAA counselors were able to spend most of their time on counseling activities; for the first time, the students who needed help had someone to go to. The evaluation team concurred with this assessment, reporting that the counseling program "provided students with needed counseling services beyond what could have been delivered without this program."

Several respondents cited the training provided by ESAA, both for ESAA staff and for regular staff, as helping to fill a critical need. Some said that without ESAA or Title IV, no desegregation-related training would have been received by anyone in the district. One involved community person claimed the opening of school in the fall would have been "disastrous" without the ESAA training provided to the staff in August. For their part, ESAA teachers reported that the training helped them learn how to "humanize" the classroom. Thus, ESAA might well be added to the factors contributing to the peacefulness of Dayton's desegregation process.

In spite of the widespread enthusiasm for the local program, almost everyone had suggestions for how the national ESAA program could be improved, or at least they suggested areas that needed improvement. Perceived difficulties with ESAA generally fell into three major categories: funding, guidelines and involvement.

- Funding: The most widespread complaint in this category was that ESAA grants are for a duration of only one year. Respondents dislike the one-year funding cycle for several related reasons: one-year grants make long-term planning impossible; they tie up administrative staff in proposal writing when the staff should be "tending the store"; and they make for a tremendous waste of funds (because of the inability to plan, because of the time required to put together an annual proposal, and because of the time required to "gear up" each year for a new effort).

A second difficulty regarding funding is the seasonal timing of the funding cycle: several respondents felt that January is an awkward deadline for proposal submissions, at least in part because "December is a terrible month to write a proposal." They reported they were unable to prepare the proposals before then because they do not receive the annual requirements and guidelines until December, though they said they were supposed to receive them in September. They would prefer the deadline to be either earlier or later--one respondent suggested either September or February.

The July notification-of-funding date is disliked even more than the proposal submission date. It is felt that this date does not allow for sufficient time for plans to be made and staff to be hired before school is opened in the fall. Also, it means that when ESAA school staff leave for the summer they still do not know what they will be doing in the fall. These difficulties in turn lead to tensions among the various parties involved and hurt the cause of the program. In Dayton's case, these problems have been aggravated by the fact that notification of funding has not been received until some time after the July first deadline.

A third complaint relating to funding is the perceived political nature of the funding process. District administrators feel they have to "bow and scrape" to receive funds, and they are annoyed by what they perceive as a variation in philosophy and criteria for ESAA funding from region to region. They also suspect that the delays they have experienced in receiving funds have been politically motivated.

- Guidelines: ESAA guidelines were felt by a variety of respondents to be too categorical, too restrictive, and generally not very realistic. These complaints seemed to reduce to a desire by local people to be free to spend the funds as they saw fit. Some felt that a general desegregation focus was desirable; in this category, two specific desires were mentioned often: ESAA should be made available for desegregation-related transportation and for other court-ordered activites, such as staff training. Other respondents--particularly district administrators and school board members--felt that the funds would be most useful if it were possible to put them in the general district funds.

- Involvement: A number of respondents felt that they or others should be able to participate more actively in one or more aspects of the ESAA project. Teachers, for example, felt they should have been able to provide more explicit input to the ESAA proposal and to selection of materials for use in the classroom; principals felt they should have a greater voice in the ESAA personnel and activities in their schools. An ESAA administrator suggested that the ESAA Advisory Committee should be more meaningfully involved in the ESAA project; two key elements to such involvement, it was felt, are training in desegregation issues and increased power, perhaps through budgetary control. A review of the minutes from Advisory Committee proposal review meetings indicated that Advisory Committee members themselves felt some confusion over their roles and frustration about their inability to have any real input to program design. Additionally, there seemed to be a feeling that the superintendent's power of final approval of Advisory Committee members led to a less than representative group.

  Other groups for whom greater involvement was suggested were students and the general public. Comments reported in minutes of an Advisory Committee meeting suggest that the current ESAA requirement of notifying the public of ESAA meetings through newspaper legal notices does not effectively notify the public of such meetings.

The question of how ESAA funds should be spent seemed to be a difficult one for most respondents. Though some could list priorities, there was generally an unwillingness to say that any particular area should not receive ESAA funds; there was a feeling that everything ESAA now funds is important. Moreover, even among those who could provide priorities, there was no consensus. Some felt that compensatory education is the most important, partly because it is the children to whom we ought to be attending and partly because adult attitudes are too impervious to change for great quantities of money to be spent there. Others felt adult attitudes must be the primary focus (through human relations training) because that is where all the difficulties with desegregation lie. Still others felt that parent involvment in education should receive top priority, because it is only through parent involvement that children can be made interested in learning.

A few respondents did feel that ESAA is now funding areas it should not fund. Specifically, it was argued that ESAA (or any other inherently temporary program) should not fund long-term needs, because "when the money goes away the district is still stuck with the problem." Parenthetically, it is interesting that this view was articulated most strongly by two persons who were seen by both themselves and others as being at opposite ends of the political spectrum.

Overall, Dayton's ESAA program is felt to be a well-managed program that deals quite effectively with such issues as compensatory education, human relations training, and counseling. It seems not to be seen as being particularly tied in with Dayton's desegregation efforts, other than through the teacher training it funded, partly because of a conscious effort on the part of district administrators not to relate it to desegregation, and partly because of the differing focus of the two efforts: ESAA's focus in Dayton is on compensatory education; the desegregation focus on the other hand has not been on classroom issues but rather on the logistics of peacefully mixing the two races of children. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter V, these two foci have not yet been brought together in Dayton.

CRA-Title IV

Title IV grantees serving the Dayton School District are the General Assistance Center at Kent State University in Kent, Ohio (about 150 miles from Dayton), and the Training Institute at Central State University in Wilberforce, Ohio (15 miles from Dayton).

Kent State University: General Assistance Center

Kent State was first funded by Title IV as a Training Institute in 1972. These funds were received for two years. In 1973, Kent State also became a General Assistance Center, calling itself Kent State Center for Educational Development and Strategic Services (KEDS). As a GAC, KEDS is mandated to serve all 630 school districts in Ohio, providing workshops and conferences on a variety of topics related to racial discrimination, bilingual/bicultural education, and (since 1974) sex discrimination. The Center is staffed by nine program officers, the director and assistant director, plus several support staff, operating on an annual budget in recent years of about $400,000. For 1977-78 they will receive about $550,000.

Prior to the 1976-77 school year, KEDS' approach tended to be relatively extensive rather than intensive, with about 60 districts assisted annually and 30 statewide conferences sponsored. However, a reduction in funds combined with "strong encouragement" from the regional office led them this past year to reduce the number of districts served to 30 and the number of statewide conferences to four or five.

Early contacts with districts are often made at the statewide conferences. Also, notices are sent out each fall that KEDS will soon be developing contracts for assistance in the various areas listed. Those who are interested are asked to check their areas of need and return the form to Kent State. Then a request-for-proposals is developed and issued, and the proposals that are submitted are rated for quality and need. Districts with the most highly rated proposals are selected for assistance, as KEDS' funds allow. Usually at some point early in the process, members of KEDS staff meet personally with district administrators to discuss the district's needs.

The KEDS staff described their involvement with districts as typically being an evolutionary process, beginning on a non-threatening basis, with increasing interaction as trust and credibility are established. They noted, moreover, that they try to stay cognizant of districts' political problems and to remain sensitive to these needs.

KEDS began working with Dayton in 1973, when Dayton responded to the Center's standard request-for-proposals. Dayton's first involvement was participation in one of KEDS' statewide conferences. Since then most assistance has consisted of staff training on a variety of topics. This has included workshops in June of 1974 and 1975, attended by about 450 principals, teachers, etc., and seminars in August of 1976 for bus drivers, food workers, and administrators. KEDS staff reported that the original proposal was developed with continuous in-service training in mind, but when the district found out Dayton was eligible for ESAA, they (the district) decided that the training would be done under ESAA instead. As it turned out, however, the Basic ESAA project was unable to provide much of this training because the District Court ordered the district to provide training. (As noted previously, ESAA funds may not be used for court-ordered activities.)

This past spring (1977), KEDS and the ESAA Special Project jointly sponsored a series of two "Key Leaders" workshops, as described in the section on ESAA. KEDS staff noted that this approach, by which principals and other key building staff are trained to become trainers, enables them to cover more people than they could by providing direct training to all building staff. During the coming year (1977-78), KEDS intends to use the key leader concept as their major approach. However, they will continue to work at the district and classroom levels as well. In addition, they have just begun to do some work with Board of Education members.

Other areas besides staff training in which KEDS provides assistance are:

- Needs assessment
- Modification of administrative structure
- Development/revision of curriculum
- Student/staff assignment
- School/community relations

No KEDS-assisted needs assessment was conducted in Dayton because the district administration felt that attending state conferences had enabled them to identify district needs. No assistance was requested by Dayton in the areas of administrative structure, curriculum, and student/staff assignment because the district felt they also had in-house capabilities in these areas. For assistance with community relations, some district staff members attended a KEDS-sponsored meeting dealing with training community observers for desegregation.

Central State University: Training Institute

Central State University (CSU) has been receiving Title IV Training Institute funds since 1973. In the first year the Institute was designed to serve only Dayton, but as requests for assistance were received from other districts, workshops were held for these districts as well. CSU has since provided services to approximately eight districts, including Dayton. CSU provides training on a variety of topics related to racial discrimination, bilingual/bicultural education, and (since 1975) sex discrimination. The regular staff for the Institute consists of only two or three persons, but a large number of persons act as consultants in providing workshop leadership. Since the Institute's inception, it has been funded at between $150,000 and $200,000 annually. It has not been funded for the 1977-78 school year.

During the 1973-74 school year, four workshops were held for Dayton staff, including one that lasted five days. Topics were communication skills and task involvement in a desegregated setting; participants were teachers and administrators. The Institute also operated an intern program in which nine college students served as interns for two to three days per week in elementary school classrooms in Dayton. This component was discontinued after 1974-75.

In the years following 1973-74, the in-service workshops remained the Institute's primary focus. Eleven workshops were given for Dayton in 1974-75, 10 in 1975-76, and 11 in 1976-77. A substantial number of these were for counselors, and most others were primarily for teachers. School and district administrators were also included in some workshops, and custodians were participants in one session. Some of the workshops were directed to a particular teaching level and/or subject matter, e.g., language arts for eighth and ninth graders. One workshop in 1975-76 was given specifically for ESAA teachers and aides. Attendance ranged from 20 to almost 200. Topics which were developed in coordination with district staff, included conflict resolution, discrimination, minority student counseling, and "humanizing" the curriculum. Also, beginning in 1975-76, sex discrimination was dealt with as well as racial discrimination.

The Institute was also involved with developing programs to increase minority student achievement. For example, reading prescriptions and materials were developed by two reading supervisors for a K-12 reading program; also, video tapes of lectures and teaching practices were produced and distributed to districts.

Interactions

The designated liaison in the Dayton School District for both Title IV projects is the Assistant Superintendent for Administrative Services. Staff of both projects reported interactions with a variety of other district personnel as well. For the CSU director these persons have been mainly the Human Relations Director, the Director of Curriculum Services, and the Director of Counseling Services; for the KEDS staff, it has been primarily the Director of Curriculum Services.

On the basis of reports from all parties, it appears that the relationship between the district and KEDS is closer than that between the district and CSU. Both the KEDS staff and the ESAA staff reported that there is good coordination between their two projects. The CSU staff, on the other hand, reported no contact whatsoever with ESAA, but suggested that it would be desirable to coordinate their workshops so that they do not overlap. The two projects evidently also had differing experiences in their interactions with the Title IV regional office. CSU reported there was a lack of communication and coordination with this office, while KEDS reported minor problems, but felt that overall the regional office had been very helpful.

Reports on the nature of interactions between the two Title IV projects were conflicting. One source claimed that there was good coordination between the two projects, and that services did not overlap. Another source felt there was little coordination between the two projects and that services overlapped considerably. (On the basis of written materials provided to SRI, it does appear that there is considerable overlap in the two projects' workshop topics and participants.)

Perceptions of Title IV

Most of our respondents who were familiar with the Title IV programs felt that the workshop and technical assistance received from both CSU and KEDS were of high quality and beneficial to participants. This was felt to be especially true of KEDS, which seemed to be perceived as more sensitive to Dayton's needs and "more on top of things." One district administrator claimed that without the training there would have been "total incompetence." Another administrator was impressed not only by the quality of the assistance but also by the consultants' helpful attitude. Two principals who participated in workshops felt that the training enabled people who wouldn't normally do so to exchange their ideas in a "positive atmosphere," and that it heightened sensitivity to others who are different. Evaluation reports completed by participants in the CSU workshops also consistently indicated that most felt the workshops were well organized and that the participants had gained from their experiences.

In a different vein, several sources noted that the concept of providing funds to groups or institutions outside of school districts is a good one, because it allows for the infusion of expertise that is not often available in-house. It was felt that training funds provided directly to districts often go "down the drain" because insufficient expertise is available to use the funds effectively.

Perceived difficulties with the programs came from a variety of sources, recipients and donors of technical assistance alike. Among the recipients, two main, but contradictory, criticisms were: 1) training should have been provided earlier, there should have been more of it, and it should have continued through the school year; and 2) workshops are a "waste of time."

Basically, two reasons were advanced for the view that workshops are a waste of time. One was that there is no need for training in human relations because there are really no problems in this area (this spoken by an anti-desegregation respondent). The other reason expressed for feeling the workshops are useless was that, for the most part, the really "needy" persons do not attend; those who do attend are already sympathetic toward integration, so the workshops serve mostly as "pats on the back to the good guys."

Difficulties perceived by the Title IV staffs centered largely around the problems that arise working with districts whose administrations have no real commitment to desegregation. The crux of the issue is that Title IV grantees may provide only as much assistance as is requested by the district and only in the areas the district requests. This policy has several implications:

- Since assistance may be provided only upon the written request of the superintendent, it reportedly is often requested relatively late in the desegregation process (if at all), because superintendents feel that such requests may be seen as an admision of non-compliance. (Obviously, this problem exists primarily with districts that are not under a court order to desegregate.)

- Even when a request is made, the assistance desired tends to be nondesegregation-related, such as "regular" in-service training (a non-allowable activity under Title IV); when desegregation assistance is insisted upon, district officials want the trainers to de-emphasize racial discrimination per se and avoid the use of the term "desegregation." (One of the Title IV programs skirts this problem by using the term "Equal Educational Opportunity," and by noting that both racial and sex discrimination are involved.)
- Training topics do not reflect general district-wide needs as much as they reflect the individual concerns of a few administrative personnel who happen to want to take advantage of the training opportunities available. The result is that many areas of need--even those of greatest need--are not covered at all. Coherent district-wide training programs are evidently rarities. (Several community spokespersons similarly noted that the district has not asked for all the help it needs.)
- Title IV staffs have no way to ensure participation in their workshops other than through the provision of quite small stipends (generally less than $5.00 an hour).

Other difficulties perceived by Title IV staffs related to federal Title IV policy and guidelines. The largest complaint in this area was the one-year funding cycle. Respondents cited the difficulty of maintaining a "competitive edge" at the same time as program quality is being upheld--"You can't maintain quality and play king of the hill at the same time." Also, the one-year cycle makes staff members hesitant to encourage multi-year district programs, because they are uncertain they will be able to follow up on their plans. Yet, they say, it is long-range programs that are most needed.

A potential difficulty is seen in the addition of sex discrimination issues to the Title IV focus. (These were added following the passage of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972.) It is felt that this added concern might dilute the impact of Title IX on desegregation "if programs are not careful." One reason for this potentiality is that districts appear to be more willing to deal with sex discrimination than with racial issues.

Both Title IV and district staff cited a tremendous need for continuous training rather than the one-shot approach currently in effect. Title IV staff members emphasized that such training should be followed by regular support of and feedback from participants. Since both district and Title IV staff seem to want continuous training, it is not totally clear why it has not come about to date. However, it seems likely that both fund limits and the absence of strong pressure from the school have played a role.

Other needs regarding Title IV programs that were expressed by district and school sources dealt predominantly with restructuring the workshops. Suggestions included:

- Allow for more dialogue with persons from other communities that are experiencing desegregation
- Focus the workshops on more specific topics, with more hands-on and how-to approaches
- Involve all members of a school faculty rather than only one or two

Title IV staffs expressed a need for more nationwide coordination of information on desegregation. They felt they could profit from information about how and why other Title IV programs are successful and from the availability of models that could be adapted to local needs. They noted that currently there is no effective way to obtain such information and that their only opportunities for exchanging ideas are at the regional and national Title IV meetings.

KEDS staff members noted that there is a similar need for exchange of ideas and information among school districts. They feel that statewide conferences, for example, are needed to help develop an awareness among district administrators of desegregation problems. Often, the staff maintained, administrators do not feel they have a problem (or are unwilling to admit to it) until they hear other districts' administrators describing experiences similar to their own.

Yet another area in which increased communication is felt to be necessary is, as noted earlier, among the Title IV programs themselves. The purpose of such communication would be to cut down on the overlap of sources provided and maximize cooperative activities.

CSU staff generally felt a need for a tightening up of the program, including: more specific policy guidelines ("three people will give you three different answers"); some mandatory training, especially for district administrators; and external monitors and evaluators to keep track of how funds are spent and what assistance is refused.

KEDS staff, in contrast, seemed relatively comfortable with the current structure and with the need for sensitivity and patience in dealing with districts. They felt, for example, that mandatory workshops might defeat their purpose because of the resentment they would arouse. (However, it was felt that such workshop incentives as released time and college credit would indeed be desirable.)

Finally, and as suggested above, multi-year funding was felt to be critical to the long-term success of Title IV.

The Office for Civil Rights (OCR)

Activities

(Note: Information on OCR is less complete than it might be due to the unwillingness of the director of the Cleveland office to answer many of our questions.)

The OCR office responsible for Dayton is the "mini-regional" office in Cleveland, within the overall jurisdiction of the Region V office in Chicago. The Cleveland office consists of 11 professionals and three support staff. To the extent possible, staff members are assigned to particular districts in order to maintain continuity in each district. However, because complaints may be received at any time, assignments often must be handled on the basis of which staff members are available.

OCR's first action regarding Dayton was a letter of determination in March, 1969, finding the district out of compliance regarding staff assignment. As noted earlier, this letter was followed by a Board of Education resolution to desegregate the staff and then by actual desegregation in 1970-71. Following this action, OCR's involvement consisted primarily of sending information to the superintendent, upon the latter's request, explaining how to achieve compliance in the area of student assignments. Although the superintendent reportedly urged OCR to take a stronger stand regarding Dayton's student segregation, this was not done. Shortly thereafter, the conservative faction took over the school board, the superintendent was replaced, and the NAACP filed suit against the district. That occurred in 1972. Since then the district has been in court or under court order, so OCR has not been centrally involved.

The office has continued, however, to receive and investigate complaints regarding Dayton and to perform ESAA compliance reviews. The first ESAA review was done in the spring of 1974, at which time the district was found to be ineligible for ESAA due to discriminatory assignments of faculty. (Reportedly, teachers hired since 1972, when the current superintendent came in, had been assigned to schools in a discriminatory manner.) The district then applied for and received an ESAA waiver of ineligibility with the understanding that compliance action would be taken. A post-grant review by OCR in the fall indicated that Dayton had indeed achieved compliance regarding faculty assignments. When asked about the ESAA proposals for 1975-76, OCR respondents indicated they could not recall whether or not they had signed off on them. Reviews for ESAA proposals since then have found Dayton to be in compliance, although Dayton sources claimed that 1977-78 funds were temporarily held up pending investigation of a complaint regarding discrimination against white females.

According to an OCR source, several complaints had been lodged against the school district. However, since these are all confidential we were not told their nature or status. Nevertheless, we did learn from Dayton sources that at least one of the complaints dealt with alleged disproportionate suspensions of black students.

Perceptions of OCR

Sources in Dayton, both inside and outside of the district administration, had uniformly unfavorable attitudes toward OCR. In fact, the single positive comment was that "the individual OCR people are pleasant," and even this was a distinctly minority view. Generally OCR was seen as inflexible, arbitrary, and combative, with unrealistic expectations of the district . Several respondents felt that OCR's perceived hostility toward the district began when the school board ousted the integrationist superintendent. Since that time, it is said, OCR has acted as though it distrusts the district, has been reluctant to approve Dayton for ESAA funds, and generally has given the district a "hard time." It is also claimed that OCR's demands for racial and sex balances are unrealistic and show a lack of awareness of the complexity of maintaining such balances during a time of declining enrollment. Furthermore, district sources maintain OCR's selection of years and criteria to be checked for compliance is arbitrary.

One community observer suggested that OCR's position may be explained in part by what he sees as a conflict between liberals in the regional office who feel duty-bound to eliminate racial discrimination and conservatives in federal headquarters who act to encourage intransigence. None of our respondents volunteered any suggestions as to how improvements might come about .

For their part, OCR sources appeared to have an equally negative attitude toward the Dayton school district administration. They maintain that it is the district that is arbitrary and unrealistic and that OCR has been cooperative and understanding. They pointed out that the law, particularly in regard to ESAA, does not allow much room for flexibility. They stated that they were not arbitrary in their requests for data, though they would not elaborate. In regard to being supervised by a federal office that allegedly does not really support desegregation, they had no comment. Their greatest need, they felt, was for more staff.

V UNMET NEEDS

Throughout the interviewing process, a number of needs that were unmet in the desegregation process were identified by respondents. Some of these related specifically to ESAA, Title IV, or OCR and have been dealt with in the sections relating to those programs. Other needs did not necessarily relate to any one program in particular but might conceivably be dealt with through one or more of these programs. It is these needs that are discussed here.

The major need, the one that subsumed almost all others, was funds: there simply was not enough money to do everything people wanted to do. But the more interesting issue is what people wanted to do with those funds that were not available. Broadly speaking, there were at least four major areas of felt needs: involvement, training, educational programs, and integration.

Involvement

Just as respondents were interested in increasing the involvement of various parties in the ESAA program, so respondents felt that a variety of people should have been brought more actively into the desegregation process in general. The most frequently mentioned group was parents. Teachers and counselors, especially, felt a great need to find ways to involve parents in the education of their children. Though such involvement is not necessarily related to desegregation, a number of respondents seemed to feel that the only way to make desegregation successful is to make education successful. And this cannot be done, they felt, without greatly increased parent interest and participation. Several suggestions were made regarding how parent participation could be increased. One was to pay counselors and teachers to work during the summer going to the homes of each of their students to discuss with the parents the children's schooling and thereby increase awareness and interest. Another suggestion was to set up contracts with parents regarding their children's performance, specifying what both parent and teacher would do to help the child. Yet another suggestion was to increase the number of school activities that involve parents--plays, barbeques, music festivals, and so on.

Increased student involvement in the desegregation process was another area of need expressed by some. It was felt that students might have been used effectively in door-to-door campaigning for desegregation during the summer prior to Dayton's full-scale desegregation effort. This technique was, in fact, planned, but lack of funds and less than optimal leadership in this area reportedly prevented its occurrence. Other sources noted that students could be involved in assessing desegregation related needs in their schools and in helping to determine how these needs should be met.

Sources noted, too, that in spite of the evidently broad involvement in Dayton's desegregation effort, there was a need for still greater community involvement and for financial assistance to a variety of "NPO-type" groups for both human relations and compensatory education (e.g., tutorial) efforts.

Finally, several respondents saw a need for increased state involvement in desegregation efforts, or, more specifically, for increased state leadership. One person commented that because the states are more knowledgeable about local conditions than is the federal government, it might be a good idea to have the states supervise local programs. Another felt that a state mandate for desegregation would decrease the anti-desegregation pressure on local superintendents. To encourage the states to assume such leadership, however, one source noted that there is a need for federal incentives and that federal funds to SEAs should be tied more tightly to desegregation efforts than is currently the case.

Other respondents felt that state involvement was not needed: "There are too many people meddling in education as it is," as one person put it. Another objected on the grounds that local power would be diminished and that state involvement would mean still greater bureaucracy and therefore greater alienation.

Training

After funding, training was probably mentioned most often as an unmet need. The training provided through ESAA and Title IV appear to have only scratched the surface in terms of need. As noted earlier, each of these programs was originally intended to provide a continuing series of workshops for various members of the school and district staffs during the 1976-77 school year. However, the plans were cancelled when the school district itself was ordered by the court to provide training. Since the district was unable to come up with training funds, no systematic training effort took place for the school staffs as a whole (though ESAA staff persons did receive considerable training).

Of those who mentioned the need for training, some specifically noted the necessity of the kind of systematic on-going training effort that was evidently intended through Title IV and ESAA; one person felt that a built-in structure was required, using a combination of district mandates and incentives such as stipends, college credit, released time and school dismissal to encourage attendance. As noted in an earlier section, this person was not alone in his conclusion that strong efforts must be made to encourage the attendance of those who need the sessions the most (and who are, by definition, those least interested in attending). Other groups mentioned as needing training were teachers, administrators, students, parents, the community--in short, everyone. In general, the kind of training that was felt to be needed was in human relations: understanding why groups of people are different from one another and how to deal sensitively with those differences.

Several people also noted a need for greater planning and technical assistance early in the desegregation process, and some pointed out in particular that it would have been helpful to have communicated more with people from other desegregating communities: "The expertise on desegregation that is developed in various communities ought to be shared with others," one said. (It will be recalled, of course, that a number of Dayton citizens did visit other communities that had desegregated, and these persons felt that the information gained from the visits was very valuable.)

Educational Programs

A number of respondents felt quite strongly that concerns directly related to educational programs had thus far been relatively neglected in the desegregation efforts and required immediate and close attention. "The kids have been ignored through all this," one claimed. Another claimed that the reason the community does not support desegregation more enthusiastically is that "there is nothing at the end of the line" for their children, no special programs or activities in the desegregated schools to make them attractive to the children who must attend them." Still another person noted that curriculum should be made the "bridge to integration." Others mentioned the need for incentives for good teaching, smaller classes, special materials and activities (all these suggestions, not surprisingly, from teachers), and for even more emphasis on reading and math.

Integration

The felt need for attention to integration paralleled that for attention to curriculum; the feeling by some seemed to be, "Okay, so now we've desegregated; how about some real integration?" Some maintained that large disparities in educational programs still existed, even in paired schools, and that discipline standards were unevenly enforced; these areas were in need of immediate attention, it was argued. Some felt that technical assistance was needed to help bring about "real" integration.

It should be noted that meeting many of these needs does not necessarily require any outside assistance or a great deal of funds. For example, it is not inconceivable that increased student and parent involvement could have come about, at least to some extent, with local initiative and volunteer participation. And greater attention to curriculum and integration concerns would certainly seem to be the responsibility of the district administration. Indeed, the only need that would seem to require outside assistance and substantial funding is training. Nevertheless, the impression was conveyed that if the fulfilling of these needs were left entirely to local resources many of the issues would be avoided; some outside encouragement, assistance, or even mandated was felt to be necessary if these needs are to be addressed.

VI OVERVIEW

In the preceding sections, the process of desegregation in Dayton has been outlined; the roles of ESAA, Title IV, and OCR have been described, and respondents' perceptions of these programs and of unmet needs have been discussed.

As has been seen, Dayton's desegregation efforts have spanned almost a decade, beginning with OCR's 1969 findings of discrimination in school staff assignments. Staff desegregation and some movement toward student desegregation took place under the leadership of an activist, liberal superintendent and school board. However, school board elections in the early 1970s resulted in a more conservative, anti-desegregation school board, and subsequently in a new superintendent whose views more closely reflected those of the new school board members.

Almost immediately upon election, the school board was sued for discriminatory student assignments. On two separate occasions the U.S. District Court ordered the district to desegregate under plans based largely on voluntary enrollments and magnet programs. Both plans were ruled unacceptable by the Court of Appeals. In 1975, under pressure from this higher court, the District Court ordered district-wide busing to desegregate the Dayton school district beginning in the fall of 1976. The school board appealed the decision to the Supreme Court, but in the meantime urged the community to comply peacefully with the existing court order.

Concurrently, various segments of the community--business, religious, and community leaders, the local media, police and city government officials--began a rather massive effort of information campaigns, planning, and coordination to ensure peaceable desegregation. And that was, in fact, what occurred; according to all reports, not a single racial incident took place when school opened in September 1976, and at the time of the site visit in July 1977, sources unanimously termed Dayton's desegregation a "success."

Throughout most of this process, OCR, ESAA, and Title IV have been active--in the case of OCR instigating the staff desegregation and then, following the court actions, investigating complaints and performing compliance reviews for ESAA applications; in the case of ESAA and Title IV, providing remedial education, training, and technical assistance related to desegregation. Each program appears to have had some impact on Dayton's desegregation process but none appears to have played a major role:

- OCR: Although OCR evidently was instrumental in the staff desegregation, the office reportedly took little action regarding student desegregation, though we were told they were urged to take some such action by the (liberal) superintendent. It may be that they were intending some action when suit was brought against the district in the spring of 1972. In any case, once the district went into court, OCR had little opportunity to play a significant role.

- ESAA and Title IV: Both these programs provided some of the training services needed by various segments of the school community to help them deal more effectively with desegregation related issues. Furthermore, it is not unlikely that ESAA's remedial programs in fact did increase the attractiveness of desegregation to some parents. But it does not appear that either of these components have significantly affected the course or success of the desegregation effort, in large part because the programs' focus has generally been on the classroom whereas the focus of the desegregation effort has been on the logistics of mixing black and white children.

Appendix A-1

SELECTION OF DAYTON SCHOOLS FOR TITLE I AND ESAA PROGRAMS

The school year 1976-77 was the first for which Dayton received substantial amounts of ESAA Basic and Special Projects monies, providing for compensatory education programs in 40 elementary schools.

The accompanying table indicates which of Dayton's elementary schools received Title I or ESAA support in 1976-77; it also indicates those that received Title I funds in 1975-76 and those that were eligible for Title I (but did not necessarily receive funds) in 1976-77. Inspection of this table shows that 30 of the 40 schools receiving ESAA funds in 1976-77 were also eligible for Title I funds; of these, 15 received Title I funds, and 15 did not. The table also shows that of the 14 schools that received Title I funds in 1975-76 but not in 1976-77, seven received ESAA funds in 1976-77, and two were closed.

These data suggest that the existence of ESAA funds enabled the district to concentrate its Title I funds on fewer students while at the same time providing similar compensatory services to additional students.

DAYTON TITLE I AND ESAA ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

- Received Title I/ESAA funds
- Eligible for Title I
- Eligible for Title I Only by Carry-Over Regulation

M - Math program (Basic)
R - Reading program (Basic)
S - Special Projects math program

LEMENTARY SCHOOLS	TITLE I 1975-1976	TITLE I 1976-1977	ESAA 1976-1977
ddams	✓	✓ E	✓ M
llen		E	✓ R
elle Haven			✓ R
elmont			✓ R & S
rown		E	✓ R
arlson	✓	E*	
leveland			✓ R & S
ornell Heights	✓	E*	✓ M
rexel	✓	E	✓ M
astmont		E	✓ R
dison	✓	✓ E	✓ S
merson	✓	✓ E	✓ M
airport	✓	✓ E	
airview			✓ R
ranklin	✓	✓ E	✓ M
ardendale	✓	E*	✓ S
ettysburg		E	✓ R
rant			✓ M & R
reene			
ickorydale			✓ S
ighview	✓	✓ E	✓ M
uffman	✓	✓ E	✓ M
rving	✓	CLOSED	
ackson Elementary	✓	✓ E	✓ M
ackson Primary	✓	✓ E	
efferson Elementary	✓	✓ E	✓ M
efferson Primary	✓	✓ E	
emp			✓ M
ewton		E	
incoln	✓	✓ E	✓ M
ongfellow	✓	E*	
oos			✓ M

- Received Title I/ESAA funds
- Eligible for Title I
- Eligible for Title I Only by Carry-Over Regulation

M - Math program (Basic)
R - Reading program (Basic)
S - Special Projects math program

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS	TITLE I 1976-1976	TITLE I 1976-1977	ESAA 1976-1977
MacFarlane	✓	✓ E	✓ M
Horace Mann			✓ R
McGuffey	✓	✓ E	✓ M
McNary	✓	E*	
Meadowdale		E	✓ R
Miami Chapel	✓	E*	✓ R
Patterson/Kennedy	✓	✓ E	✓ M
Residence Park Elem.	✓	E*	✓ M
Residence Park Prim.	✓	E*	
Ruskin	✓	✓ E	✓ M
Shiloh			✓ R
Louise Troy	✓	E	
Valerie		E	✓ S
Van Cleve	✓	✓ E	✓ M
Washington	✓	✓ E	✓ M
Weaver	✓	CLOSED	
Webster	✓	✓ E	
Westwood	✓	E*	✓ M
Whittier	✓	✓ E	✓ M
Wogamar	✓	✓ E	✓ M
Orville Wright	✓	E*	✓ M

APPENDIX B

Case #2

SAN FRANCISCO UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT
San Francisco, California

WORKING REPORT

APPENDIX B

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I INTRODUCTION

This report, focusing on the San Francisco Unified School District in San Francisco, California, is the second in a series of case studies designed to examine the role of three federal programs in the process of desegregation. The programs of concern are the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA); Title IV of the Civil Rights Act (CRA); and the enforcement of Title VI of CRA by the Office for Civil Rights (OCR). The report primarily describes the activities of these programs within one community, San Francisco. In order to establish a context within which the program activities may be understood, the history of San Francisco and its desegregation process are also described.

The overall objectives of the case studies are to determine the impact of ESAA, CRA-Title IV, and OCR on desegregation in selected school districts across the nation and on the basis of these findings suggest means of optimizing future program impacts.

This report is based predominantly on interviews with a variety of San Franciscans knowledgeable about the city's desegregation process and about ESAA, CRA-Title IV, and/or OCR. A total of approximately 40 individuals were interviewed individually during the summer and fall of 1977. Respondents included district level administrators, Board of Education members, ESAA and Title IV program directors and staff, building administrators, teachers, Region IX OCR staff, Region IX ESAA program officers, ESAA Advisory Committee members, community representatives active in the desegregation process, and media representatives. Respondents were interviewed on topics appropriate for their particular roles with questions selected from a semi-structured interview guide.

In addition to the interviews, limited archival data were collected relating to ESAA and Title IV (e.g., racial enrollment patterns, proposals for ESAA and Title IV programs, proposed desegregation plans). Two published articles also served as significant sources of information for the section on San Francisco's desegregation process. These articles were "Race, Politics, and the Courts: School Desegregation in San Francisco," by David L. Kirp (Harvard Educational Review, 46 (4), November 1976);

and "San Francisco, California: Where San Francisco Went Wrong," by Ron Moskowitz (in Harris, Jackson, Rydingsword and contributors, The Integration of American Schools, Allyn and Bacon, Inc. c. 1975).

The remainder of this report is organized as follows: Section II, "The Setting for Desegregation," provides an overview of the community and its history. The process of desegregation, beginning in 1962 and continuing to the present, is the focus of Section III. Section IV, "Federal Legislated Involvement in Desegregation," consists of a discussion of ESAA, CRA-Title IV, and OCR. An overview in Section V concludes the report.

II THE SETTING FOR DESEGREGATION:
THE COMMUNITY AND ITS HISTORY

San Francisco is located at the northern tip of the San Francisco Peninsula at the mouth of one of the best natural harbors in the world. Within the city's boundaries are 47.7 square miles of the city proper and approximately 82 square miles of ocean and bay. Near the center of the city is a crescent shaped range of hills topped by the Twin Peaks, Mt. Davidson, and Mt. Sutro—all over 900 feet. The hilly landscape is accentuated by sharply inclined streets.

Since it was incorporated in 1850, San Francisco has had a consolidated city-county government. The mayor has strong executive powers and delegates substantial authority to his appointed chief administrative officer and to a controller. Legislative authority is held by an elected board of supervisors.

San Francisco's unusual history has played an important role in its ethnic and cultural make-up. The bay was discovered (oddly enough, by land) in 1769 by a scouting party from an expedition led by Gaspar de Portola. The Presidio and the Mission San Francisco Assisi (later renamed Mission Dolores) were established by the Spanish in the following year. The first Anglo settlement came in 1835 at Yerba Buena Cove, about two miles east of the Spanish mission.

With the discovery of gold in 1849, the city was at first virtually deserted in the rush inland to the Mother Lode and then became a boom town of almost 30,000. The wide variety of ethnic groups brought in by the gold rush was probably the first step in making the City one of the most cosmopolitan in the nation. It was also at this time that the tendency for each ethnic group to live in "its" district of the city was established. After the Panic of 1857 and the ensuing depression, the discovery of silver in the Nevada Territory and the exploitation of the Comstock Lode turned the boom town into a metropolis. Business, industry, commerce, and governmental services expanded rapidly; famous writers such as Mark Twain became residents; and construction of the city's unique Victorian-style houses boomed.

The 1906 earthquake and subsequent fire destroyed the central business district. However, by 1910 the city was rebuilt and had a population of 416,912. The first World War brought more people into the city as war industry employment rose. The variety in ethnic and cultural make-up of the city and the convergence of these groups into their own distinct areas continued to be the case. In addition to Chinatown, such areas were the Fillmore district (predominantly Japanese) and the Mission district (principally Irish).

World War II caused an even greater population boom than had World War I, bringing some 500,000 war workers into the area. Many of these were blacks who moved into the Fillmore district that had been emptied of Japanese by Executive Order 9066. Because San Francisco had been a principal port of embarkation for men and materials into the Pacific, the population continued to grow after the war as men who had passed through San Francisco returned to live there.

Since the boom during and after World War II, the city has been confronted with the problems common to many metropolitan areas: pollution, the decay of the inner city, population decline as people--mostly middle class whites--move to the suburbs, the trend toward high rise building, and inner city violence and vandalism. Given these problems, it is not surprising that there are over 1,000 citizen organizations, largely community based, many of which are devoted to such issues as neighborhood improvement, housing, education, and social welfare.

San Francisco, since statehood, has been the West's financial capital, and it has become the administrative center for many of the nation's leading corporations. It is second only to New York in banking activities; it is the West's operations headquarters for a majority of Federal agencies; and it is the seat of the Pacific Coast Stock Exchange. Though traditionally a "strong" union town, in the recent past it has become evident that the highly organized, politically effective unions have tended to accelerate the industrial, commercial, and residential "flight" from the city.

In 1970, the unemployment rate was 6.3%, slightly below the State average. Of the 494,900 people employed in 1970, the distribution of the employed labor force by type of industry was as follows:

Service occupations	20.3%
Government (all levels)	17.8%
Finance, real estate, and insurance	14.0%
Retail trade	11.1%
Transportation, communication, and utilities	10.6%
Manufacturing	10.0%
Wholesale trade	7.6%
Construction	2.2%

The relatively large number of persons employed in service occupations reflects the importance of tourism to the City's economy. The population, 740,316 in 1960, has declined steadily to 715,674 in 1970, and 664,520 in 1976.

In 1970, one third of the population was non-white: 96,000 blacks, 69,000 Chinese, 25,000 Filipinos, 12,000 Japanese, 2,900 American Indians, and 10,000 people of other origins, including a growing number of Samoans. In addition, the Spanish speaking/Spanish heritage population (counted separately) was 51,602.

In 1977-78 San Francisco school enrollment officially totaled 62,662. The total enrollment was comprised of the following groups: black 28.8%; white 21.9%; Chinese 18.4%; Spanish surnamed 14.2%; Philipino 8.8%; Japanese 1.5%; Korean 1.0%; Native American 0.5%; and other 4.9%. There were 11 senior high schools in the district, 17 junior high schools, and 97 elementary schools. Certificated staff totaled 4,186.

The San Francisco school district is governed by a school board consisting of 7 members. School board members are elected on a citywide basis, and serve four year terms. Terms of office are staggered so that 4 members are elected one year and three members two years later. The superintendent is appointed by the school board.

III THE PROCESS OF DESEGREGATION*

Activity Prior to the Court Order (1962-1972)

Desegregation of the San Francisco public schools first became a public issue in January, 1962. At that time, representatives from the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Council for Civic Unity (a coalition of several civil rights groups) appeared before the school board seeking official acknowledgement of the *de facto* segregation of San Francisco schools and an expression of intent to desegregate. The board referred the matter to School Superintendent Harold Spears for review. In May, while the superintendent was still preparing his report to the board, a virtually all-white neighborhood group, the West of Twin Peaks Council, mounted the first organized opposition to desegregation by issuing anti-busing statements. The superintendent's report, issued in June, defended the *status quo* in the school district, noting that disproportionate racial enrollments were a result of the neighborhood schools policy.

Community sentiment was aroused by then, and at a marathon school board meeting, held in September, 1962, and attended by 1,400 citizens, 52 different speakers took the floor to denounce or defend the position taken by the superintendent. In response, the school board appointed a committee of three of its own members to study the problem. Deeming the response inadequate, in October the NAACP filed suit against the school district. The school board hired Joseph Alioto, a prominent local attorney who was to become mayor of San Francisco in 1967, to defend against the suit. Meanwhile, the committee proceeded with its study.

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*In writing this chapter, we relied heavily on the following sources:

Kirp, David L., "Race, Politics, and the Courts: School Desegregation in San Francisco." *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 46, No. 4, November 1976.

Moskowitz, Ron, "San Francisco, California: Where San Francisco Went Wrong." In Harris, Norene, Nathaniel Jackson, Carl E. Rydingsword, and contributors, *The Integration of American Schools: Problems, Experiences, and Solutions*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., c. 1975. Pp. 62-71.

The committee's report, issued in April, 1963, acknowledged that segregation did exist in San Francisco's schools, though not as a result of a deliberate policy of the school district. It recommended that the promotion of racial mixing be considered in the selection of new school sites and in the redrawing of attendance-zone boundaries. Shortly after issuance of the report a black community-relations officer was hired for the school district, and several hundred minority students were reassigned to predominantly white schools. These statements and actions indicated a move toward solution of the problem; in response, the NAACP withdrew its suit in December, 1964.

But little else was done to implement the school board committee's recommendations, and civil rights groups continued agitating, demanding a racial census of school enrollment to quantify the extent of segregation. The census was released in August, 1965, three and a half years after desegregation had first been raised as an issue in the district. The census showed that, although there was less segregation than in most large school districts, four of the 95 San Francisco elementary schools were more than 90 percent white, and seven were more than 90 percent black. Two of the 15 junior high schools were more than 50 percent black, and the eight high schools had black enrollments ranging from eight to 34 percent. At this time the city's population was about 12 percent black, 12 percent other racial minorities, and 76 percent white (including Spanish-speaking persons).

Acknowledging that more could be done to desegregate, the school board reappointed its three-member committee, which hired the Stanford Research Institute (SRI) in September, 1965, to draw up alternative desegregation plans. The SRI final report was released in May, 1967, but the school board postponed any immediate action because Superintendent Spears was retiring and the board wanted to give his successor a chance to review the report.

The new superintendent, Robert Jenkins, proposed that debate on the merits of the alternative desegregation plans be opened to the whole city. In January, 1968, a series of community forums was held in different parts of the city; all were attended and dominated by the same militant, anti-busing group.

In the face of increasing pressure from both integrationists and anti-busing groups, in June, 1968, Superintendent Jenkins sought an acceptable compromise by appointing a Citizens Advisory Committee which represented a cross section of community sentiment. The Committee was to draft recommendations based on the alternative busing plans presented by SRI and on the ideas which had been expressed at the community forums. They were also to incorporate "educational equality/quality" in their desegregation recommendations, a concept which Jenkins had been promoting.

The committee report, which was not unanimous, was submitted in February, 1969. It recommended the creation of integrated school complexes, accompanied by "educational equality/quality" reforms, in two particular regions of the city. This proposal created vociferous controversy, and police had to break up bloody fights at jammed school board meetings following its announcement. The school board finally accepted the recommendation in June, 1969, but, because of the strong opposition and a lack of funding for "educational equality/quality" components of the plan, implementation was postponed until September, 1970.

In the two regions to be integrated, reaction to the plan was generally favorable. These regions, called Richmond and Park South, are located on either side of San Francisco's Golden Gate park, and are characterized by a high degree of racially mixed housing. Integrated schools were more feasible in these predominantly middle class regions than in any other part of the city, because little mixing across socioeconomic class lines was required and only a few children had to be bused a short distance to obtain the appropriate racial enrollments. Advisory councils consisting of parents, teachers, and school administrators were formed and met weekly for a year to plan implementation of desegregation in these regions. School staff members resistant to desegregation were given an opportunity to transfer to schools outside the regions, while staff interested in desegregation transferred in.

Nevertheless, significant problems arose during the implementation planning period. Chief among these was that Mayor Joseph Alioto, who had previously stayed out of the desegregation controversy, suddenly took a strong position against all mandatory busing, even the limited busing to be required in the two regions. Following the mayor's political lead, an advisory referendum was placed on the ballot and, in June, 1970, city voters by nearly a three to one margin endorsed the proposition that the school board should not be allowed to bus children away from their neighborhood school without parental permission.

Another significant problem was that the district was able to secure only half the funds determined necessary to implement the "equality/quality" education reforms. The school board therefore considered cancelling implementation of the school complexes in both regions but finally approved implementation in one region of a complex half the size originally planned. The Richmond complex accordingly opened in September, 1970, and the school year proceeded without significant problems.

The NAACP had had enough of delay and wavering, however, and in June, 1970, filed a new suit asking for immediate desegregation of all San Francisco elementary schools. After one year as superintendent, Jenkins had also had enough of the desegregation controversy, and he resigned. The board chose pro-integrationist Tom Shaheen as the new superintendent.

Through appointment of new members, the school board had become considerably more liberal, and this second NAACP suit, Johnson vs. San Francisco District, was weakly defended. The defendents basically agreed with plaintiffs on the record of desegregation activities, but they argued that this record indicated the school district's good faith in trying to desegregate, while plaintiffs argued the record indicated years of evasion. The judge, Stanley Weigel, continually urged a settlement, but ruled in September, 1970, that there was segregation in San Francisco. He postponed selecting a remedy to accompany his ruling, however, until after the Supreme Court had decided Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg Board of Education. The Supreme Court issued its ruling in the Swann case on April 20, 1971, approving busing as a federal court remedy for desegregation. One week later, Judge Weigel ordered the San Francisco public elementary schools to be desegregated in September, 1971. The ruling constituted the first court-ordered desegregation of a large non-southern school district.

Implementation of the Court Order (1972-1977)

Following Judge Weigel's initial ruling, Superintendent Shaheen had appointed a 46-member Citizens Advisory Committee in February, 1971, to prepare a city-wide desegregation plan. The Committee was given no guidance by the school board, and a shortage of time mandated its concentration on only one aspect of desegregation: busing. The Committee presented four alternative busing plans to the school board in June, 1971, and the school board picked one called "Horseshoe". The NAACP also had a busing plan prepared in a short period of time by outside consultants. Both Horseshoe and the NAACP plans were presented to Judge Weigel in July, 1971, and he accepted both, advising the school board to choose. The school board stuck with its Horseshoe Plan.

Horseshoe divided the city into seven zones, leaving the Richmond Complex and the prospective Park South Complex relatively intact. The plan relied on a California state guideline for racial balance: the proportion of a given ethnic group in a racially balanced school must be no more than 15 percentage points above or below that group's proportion of the school age population district-wide. In an effort to be fair, the plan decreed that all children would go to a neighborhood school for three of their six elementary school years, and be bused out of their neighborhood for the other three years. The plan also specified that (to preserve social relationships formed during play) children who lived together in a residential block area would go to the same school. Although fair in one sense, these provisions had the effect of maximizing disruption and busing. Everyone was bused, even those who had already been going to schools which met the racial balance guideline. Middle class minority children were bused into the ghettos along with their white residential block playmates, while minority children in the ghettos were bused out.

Community opposition to the court order and the desegregation plan was widespread. At this time, the most vociferous and organized opposition came suddenly from the Chinese community. Earlier the Chinese had regarded the desegregation issue as a squabble between whites and blacks, but they now realized that desegregation would also affect their neighborhood schools. In May, 1971, the Chinese Six Companies, a powerful clan-based organization in Chinatown, began organizing noisy protests and in June sought a motion to intervene in the NAACP desegregation suit. The Chinese intervenors and the school board both sought a stay of Judge Weigel's order pending the outcome of an appeal. Their request was denied.

As ordered, school desegregation was peacefully implemented with massive busing in September, 1971. However, the district lost nearly one tenth of its 80,000 students. The largest boycott was organized by the Chinese, as 1600 Chinese children were enrolled in a series of "freedom schools." (The last of these schools was still operating in 1976 with an enrollment of 200.) Some whites enrolled their children in similar "freedom schools" or in parochial or elite private schools; others moved out of the city. White enrollment in the city's schools had been declining 1.7 percent annually, dropping from 42.8 percent in 1965 to 34.8 percent in 1970. When Horseshoe was implemented in 1971, white enrollment dropped an additional 4.1 percent, to 30.1 percent of the total school enrollment.

Opposition to desegregation also took political forms. Since 1922, the school board had been appointed by the mayor, but in June, 1972, the city voted to elect school board members, a rebuke to the appointed board which had implemented desegregation. Shortly afterwards an anti-busing majority was elected to the school board, and the new school board fired Superintendent Shaheen. Shaheen's administrative methods had by this time alienated nearly all major factions; his open support of an extreme affirmative action staffing plan within the school district had been particularly controversial. He was replaced by Steven Morena in August, 1972.

In May, 1972, the NAACP filed suit asking the immediate desegregation of the secondary schools in San Francisco. Neither this suit, nor the original elementary school suit has been pursued vigorously, however.

In June, 1974, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals remanded Johnson v. San Francisco School District to the district court for re-examination of the school board record with regard to intent, in light of cases which had been decided since the earlier ruling. Neither party to the litigation has sought a new trial, however, because the issue has become stale. A settlement has also been precluded because the Chinese intervenors, whose participation the appeals court approved, have resisted any agreement which would legitimize the current arrangement.

Primarily to entice the boycotting Chinese students back into the public schools, in 1972 the new school board and the district administration adopted a policy of granting "temporary attendance permits." These are permits for a student to attend a neighborhood school for reasons of health (i.e., motion sickness from riding a school bus), or curriculum (i.e., bilingual education availability). Despite protests from pro-desegregationists, the program of temporary attendance permits has since expanded rapidly and has tended to subvert racial balance, especially in the secondary schools: Secondary school desegregation was implemented by the district in September, 1974, but a headline in the July 12, 1974 San Francisco Chronicle announced, "S.F. Granting All Busing Exemptions." The accompanying article stated that temporary attendance permits would be granted on a first come, first served basis for any school not already filled to capacity. The article also reported that six of the seven junior high schools already filled were racially unbalanced. Moreover, the policy of granting busing exemptions had been adopted by the school board following disclosure that more than 4000 parents had falsified their addresses or ethnic backgrounds to avoid assignment of their children away from neighborhood schools.

Although only 3000 students were to be reassigned under the 1974 secondary school desegregation plan, about 5000 temporary attendance permits were submitted and approved. As a result, the city ended up with fewer junior and senior high schools meeting the state racial balance guideline than it had had prior to implementing the desegregation plan. In the 1975-76 school year one third of the district's secondary school students and one fifth of the elementary school students (out of a total enrollment of about 70,000) were issued temporary attendance permits. In the 1976-77 school year about one-fifth of the total enrollment (15,642 students out of 68,736) were issued temporary attendance permits to attend schools closer to their homes than the ones to which they were assigned under the desegregation plan. An estimated additional 3,000 to 4,000 students were attending the wrong schools unofficially by giving false addresses.

In December, 1971, just after implementation of desegregation, one-third of the elementary schools had been racially unbalanced according to the state guideline; by 1975-76 this number had climbed to almost one-half, although some desegregation had occurred as only seven of the elementary schools were more than 50% black. School enrollment in San Francisco has declined from 89,355 in 1960 to 86,672 in 1970; 78,829 in 1972; 71,298 in 1974; and 68,736 in 1976.

Desegregation is no longer an issue in the San Francisco community; almost everyone is attending the school of his or her choice. A proposal to dismiss the NAACP secondary school suit was filed in August, 1976, by agreement of the parties. Black neighborhood groups have requested reassignment of their children to neighborhood schools. The Chinese have obtained a 1974 Supreme Court decision in Lau v. Nichols which ordered the San Francisco school district to provide non-English speaking Chinese with bilingual-bicultural education. As a result, the Chinese, and other foreign language ethnic groups in San Francisco, have turned to a preoccupation with their own school programs. The percentage of white students in the district, which was 42.8 percent in 1965 and 30.4 percent in 1971, dropped to less than 25 percent in 1977, making it increasingly infeasible to mix whites with blacks or any other ethnic group. Within the next few years it is estimated that the Chinese will be the majority group in the San Francisco public schools.

Consideration of a New Desegregation Plan

Superintendent Morena quit in 1975, after two years in his position, complaining that he was unable to manage the district because of school board interference and bureaucratic insubordination. He was replaced by Robert Alioto (no relation to Mayor Joseph Alioto), the fifth school superintendent in eight years. Alioto has moved cautiously on desegregation because there is no community pressure on the issue and he is busy dealing with the same school district management problems that troubled his predecessor.

On December 29, 1977, however, Superintendent Alioto unveiled details of a new desegregation and school reorganization plan. Under the new plan, busing for integration in the city would be cut almost in half. The new plan proposes to replace the California state plus or minus 15 percent guideline with a rule which sets a maximum of 45 percent for any one racial or ethnic group in a given school population. Elementary students enroll in one school for the entire six years, instead of the three-years-neighborhood-school and three-years-busing called for by Horseshoe. At least four racial or ethnic groups would be represented in each school, but children living in the neighborhoods of "naturally integrated" schools would not be bused. The burden of busing would then fall primarily on Chinatown and black districts of the city, because these areas are more racially concentrated and contain fewer schools meeting the 45% maximum rule. If the new desegregation plan unduly upsets the status quo with regard to busing, desegregation may again become a controversial issue in San Francisco.

IV FEDERAL LEGISLATED INVOLVEMENT IN DESEGREGATION

The United States Congress has enacted two major laws related to school desegregation that are currently in force:

1. The Civil Rights Act of 1964: The central provision of this act is Title VI, which prohibits racial discrimination by recipients of federal aid. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has assigned responsibility for the enforcement of that prohibition to the Office for Civil Rights (OCR). OCR's role includes both monitoring of and enforcing Title VI among federal aid recipients, including public elementary and secondary schools. Within recent years, OCR's purview has expanded to cover discrimination against women, limited-English-speaking students, the handicapped, and the aged, as well as racial discrimination. Title IV of the Civil Rights Act established a program of technical assistance and training for districts drawing up or implementing a required desegregation plan.

2. The Emergency School Aid Act of 1972: Through this act, the Congress provided for financial assistance to school districts (1) to meet special needs arising from school desegregation; (2) to encourage the voluntary reduction of minority group isolation in schools with substantial proportions of minority group students; and (3) to aid school children in overcoming the educational disadvantages of minority group isolation. ESAA funds may be used for a variety of purposes, including compensatory education, human relations, staff training, and community relations. They may not be used for busing. Until now, most ESAA funds have been used to support compensatory education efforts in desegregating schools.

The activities of these three programs (ESAA, CRA-Title IV, and OCR) in San Francisco are the focus of this chapter.

Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA)

Funding and Scope

San Francisco has been receiving funds under either ESAP or ESAA since 1972. The amounts and categorical sources of these funds are presented in Table 1. Funding under ESAA Basic has ranged from just under four million dollars in 1975-76 to just under one million dollars in the current school year.

In each year, proposal preparation has generally been the responsibility of ESAA central administrative staff, although input has been sought from local school and community groups. Mass involvement in proposal preparation reached a peak one year when each elementary school in the district was required to submit a separate written plan. These plans were then coordinated into a single proposal on the district level, but this approach was abandoned as being too cumbersome and as engendering too much resentment when local plans were modified by central district authorities without adequate local consultation.

From the beginning, proposals from San Francisco for funding under ESAP or ESAA have placed primary emphasis on human relations activities. This emphasis has been characterized both as a result of the "San Francisco Tradition" of tolerance and as a result of the particular orientation of persons submitting the proposals. Whatever its origin, San Francisco's focus on "consciousness raising" activities is quite different from the approach taken by many other school districts, where ESAA funding has more commonly been used primarily for development of basic academic skills. Other important aspects of San Francisco's use of ESAP and ESAA funds have been the wide scale of their dispersal in the district, and the extreme decentralization of program implementation. Generally, every school in the district at the appropriate grade level has received resources, usually in the form of staff positions, and every school has had a great deal of freedom in determining how those resources were used.

The principle of individual schools "doing their own thing" was established in 1972 when a substantial portion of the ESAP budget was

San Francisco ESAP and ESAA Funds

Year	Basic	Pilot	Bilingual	Special	Total
1972-73(ESAP)	$1,877,116	0	0	0	$1,877,116
1973-74	2,291,747	0	$ 318,611	0	2,610,358
1974-75	2,699,567	0	631,994	$1,038,651	4,370,212
1975-76	3,941,461	0	1,034,899	0	4,976,360
1976-77	1,077,079	$143,815	548,450	0	1,769,344
1977-78	930,997	306,161	526,516	0	1,763,674

NPO Grants

1973-74: 2 grants, totaling $ 76,612

1974-75: 4 grants, totaling $276,503

1975-76: 8 grants, totaling $451,194

1976-77:

Children's Book Press	$69,005
Community Educational Services	19,242
Mission Reading Clinic	60,463
Real Alternatives Program (RAP)	49,399
St. John's Educ'l Threshold Center	89,940
San Francisco Education Auxiliary	63,157
The Association of Chinese Teachers	56,688
TOTAL	$407,894

1977-78: 7 grants, totaling $546,084

distributed to schools in the form of one thousand dollar "mini-grants" for locally initiated projects. All 96 of the district elementary schools affected by the 1971 court desegregation order, involving about 50,000 children, received services funded by ESAP. In keeping with the human relations emphasis, a major portion of ESAP funds was used for the preparation of multi-ethnic curriculum materials and inservice training of teachers in the use of these materials. One hundred and nineteen part-time community and school aides were hired with ESAP funds and 6 counseling-reading centers were established. An evaluation of San Francisco desegregation was also conducted with ESAP funds to establish the need for such desegregation-related programs as inservice teacher training in ethnic awareness.

The San Francisco school district has received funds under ESAA Basic from the fall of 1973 to the present school year, and it received funds under ESAA Special Projects during the 1974-75 school year. There has generally been a great deal of continuity in the uses to which the district has put ESAA Basic funds. Approximately 85% of the funds have gone into salaries each year. Although details of ESAA staff roles and activities are given in following sections of this report, generally persons with teaching certificates have been hired to assist in the implementation of multi-ethnic or multi-cultural education and to provide counseling for desegregation-related problems. Persons without teaching certificates have been hired as paraprofessional classroom aides and as liaisons between the school and the community.

Persons were hired in all of the above categories beginning in the 1973-74 school year, the first year ESAA funds were received. In that year a great deal of time was spent getting the program started, and many ESAA staff members were hired late. By the 1974-75 school year, however, there were 76 ESAA teachers or counselors in 97 public elementary schools, 11 in 14 non-public (parochial) elementary schools, and 180 paraprofessional teachers' aides or parent involvement coordinators. Each parent involvement coordinator had responsibility for three or four contiguously located elementary schools. Also, during the 1974-75 school year San Francisco's secondary schools were desegregated for the first time, and 41 certificated personnel and 43 paraprofessionals were placed in 27 junior and senior high schools under ESAA Special Projects funding. Included among the paraprofessionals were parent liaisons at each of 25 junior and senior high schools. At this time the ESAA staff was about 60% minority, with the heaviest concentrations of minority personnel at the paraprofessional level.

The school year of 1975-76 was the peak ESAA funding period for the district with 2.9 million dollars received under ESAA Basic. A total of about 150 certificated and 300 paraprofessional staff were on ESAA payrolls that year. Every school in the district, kindergarten through twelfth grade, including parochial schools, had at least one certificated ESAA staff member and one or more paraprofessionals, depending on school student population.

In the 1976-77 school year a little over one million dollars in ESAA Basic funds were received, and the district's ESAA program was cut back to the junior high level because of funding limitations. Also because of funding limitations, certificated personnel were assigned to schools on the basis of a "team approach", with less than one teacher per site, and 25 paraprofessional parent liaisons were hired.

The scope of the program is basically the same in the 1977-78 school year. Only junior highs are served and there are 20 parent liaisons, now called community relations assistants. Seventeen ESAA certificated staff members are divided into four teams with each team assigned to a group of the city's public and nonpublic junior high schools, serving a total of about 17,000 students.

Activities

Throughout the funding period individual schools had a great deal of freedom in determining their own programs, and this resulted in a great diversity of programs across schools. The activities described in this section are sufficient to give a general impression of what occurred, but there were many exceptions on an individual school level. Some activities are covered in greater detail in following sections.

Starting in 1973, the ESAA program has consisted of a number of separate components, and individual elementary schools could choose which of the components they would give highest priority. The choice was made jointly by the school principal, the teachers and the parents. There were originally four components: Multicultural Education, Parent Involvement, Counseling, and Reading. Multicultural Education had top priority for the program as a whole, although it was later officially replaced in this position by Parent Involvement. The Counseling component placed counselors in San Francisco elementary schools for the first time. The counselors were to concentrate on problems related to desegregation, but in practice their activities included the entire range of student problems. The Reading component involved development of reading skills among low achievers. These four components were joined in 1974 by a fifth, called Oral and Written, as a result of ESAA Advisory Committee pressure.

The Multicultural Education component consistently received the largest share of attention and program resources. Its purpose was to promote understanding of cultural and racial differences among students and teachers through educational exposure to aspects of other cultures. Archives of multicultural teaching materials and other resources were compiled, with access primarily through a resource teacher. Originally there was one ESAA resource teacher assigned to each elementary school in the district. This teacher did not have responsibility for a classroom of children, and was free to obtain multicultural materials for other teachers and assist them in revising their curricula. In some cases the teacher operated out of a "resource center," an unused classroom in the school to which groups of children would come for multicultural projects and activities. The resource teacher was assisted by one or more paraprofessional classroom aides. Activities included school visits by ethnic community representatives who presented such activities as a lesson in African dancing. Sometimes field trips were organized, for example, to the Japanese trade center or the Mexican museum in the city. In the most successful elementary school multi-cultural programs, events were scheduled so that each week every student in the school either came to the resource center, had a program in their own classroom, or participated in a related yard activity.

In some instances the Multicultural Education component was coordinated with the Parent Involvement component, and evening programs on topics such as "multi-cultural art forms," were organized, or multicultural fairs were held. Most activity in the Parent Involvement component depended, however, on the activities of paraprofessional parent liaisons or parent involvement coordinators. These were usually women who had children in the San Francisco schools, and who had previously been active in the PTA or some other school-related volunteer activity. Each parent liaison was attached to one or several schools, and the job was a full-time one. In some cases the parent liaisons were given school office space. They tried to interest parents in the activities of the school and served as intermediaries between parents and school officials in instances of problems with students.

The Oral and Written component, which started at the beginning of the second year of ESAA Basic funding, was added primarily in response to pressure from the city's large Chinese community, brought to bear through the ESAA Advisory Committee. The oral and written program provided training in self-expression for children who had difficulty participating in class. The goals of the oral and written component were stated more specifically than those of the multi-cultural component; this permitted the conduct of an evaluation that explicitly documented the program's success. Many consider the oral and written component the most successful aspect of the ESAA program in San Francisco. Critics charge, however, that it was simply an irrelevant "feel good" program and that screening procedures excluded many black and Latino problem children who also needed help. The program was dropped after a couple of years because it was decided that it was not sufficiently related to desegregation.

ESAA programs at the secondary level were generally a reflection of those at the elementary level. Multicultural education resource teachers assisted their colleagues, and parent liaisons were assigned to schools. In some instances, however, the ESAA counselor position at the secondary school level was that of a student/activities specialist. Persons in this role helped to organize extra-curricular clubs, assemblies, dances and drill teams to bring students of different races together outside the classroom. This ESAA activity was generally highly valued by both students and administrators.

Another aspect of ESAA programs at the secondary level which did not occur at the elementary level was the formation of Student Advisory Committees in accordance with ESAA guidelines. In general, student advisory committees worked better in the senior high schools than in the junior highs, because school administrators tended to pay more attention to the older students. The Committees were also more successful when their members were elected by the students rather than appointed by the ESAA counselor, and when they were coordinated with the student government, or the student government was weak. When one or more of these conditions were met, the Student Advisory Committee was sometimes able to make meaningful policy recommendations to the school administration.

Although it is outside the scope of this report to report in detail on ESAA NPO funding, it should be noted that there have been a number of ESAA non-profit organization grants in San Francisco every year in which the district has received ESAA Basic or Special funding. Activities implemented under these grants have often contributed significantly to the main ESAA programs. Under one grant a catalog of persons who could provide ethnically oriented classroom programs was compiled. Under other grants high school students tutored elementary school students, and private corporations provided released time to employees volunteering for tutoring.

Administration and Staffing

An ESAA evaluation of the 1973-74 school year offered this summary of program administration:

> While many services were rendered, coordination was precarious at best. Internal dissent at the centralized level set the

> tone for lack of coordination among central office, zonal, and school site multicultural activities. Successes, like in most anything else that happens in the San Francisco Unified School District, stemmed more from individual competence than from any cooperative efforts among central office, zone, and school site levels.

A pattern of loose, decentralized administration has apparently continued to characterize the San Francisco ESAA Basic program up to the present time, and this pattern of administration has had significant effects on staffing patterns and practices.

Central Program Administration: One reason central control over the ESAA program has been minimal is that throughout most of the years of ESAA funding the school district itself has lacked strong central guidance. As detailed in Section III of this case study report, the frequent changes in school superintendents have meant there was little opportunity for strong, central administrative support of any innovative programs, and particularly those considered controversial through their association with desegregation. Some have speculated that the district administrators deliberately kept the ESAA program administration weak and dependent, so that it could not become a player in the administrative factional battles that tended to develop in the presence of a power vacuum at the top. Others have merely noted that the ESAA program's strong emphasis on eliciting parent participation may have been sufficiently threatening to the district office to keep the program administration weak.

Aside from bureaucratic and political factors, ESAA program administration also tended to be weakened by the functional demands placed upon it by the program itself. Because the scope of the program was very large, it would have been difficult under any circumstances to closely monitor activities in the 100-plus schools that were involved during some years. Also, the nature of the program content made the program difficult to monitor. It is much more difficult to determine the appropriate scope of activity under the labels "multicultural education" or "counseling" than it is under the label of "basic skills training." Finally, a great deal of central staff energy and time that might have been spent in administrative monitoring was absorbed into the annual ESAA proposal preparation process. Proposal preparation generally took at least three months, commencing in November or December for a January submission date. In addition to writing, both before and after January there were time consuming sessions to incorporate the suggestions of community and school groups, and after January there was often rewriting to incorporate the suggestions of federal reviewers and monitors.

For a variety of reasons, then, each school had a great deal of autonomy, and the quality of the ESAA program at a school depended primarily upon the creativity and initiative of ESAA site staff. Since each school was quite different in its use of [illegible]A funds, the ESAA central office was able to monitor spending only broadly to check the schools' general compliance with program guidelines. Some have argued that this approach is valid because the needs of each school are unique. Federal monitors, however, have recently requested that the district provide greater central direction of the program by appointing a director at a higher status and salary level within the district hierarchy. Initially, this request has had the effect of setting off a struggle for control among various ESAA program factions.

The request was made by federal monitors because the weak administrative position of the ESAA program director has created certain problems. The ESAA program director has tended to be young, temporary, low ranking and relatively inexperienced in the district, and because of these factors the school principal, not the ESAA program director, has generally exercised primary control over ESAA school site staff activity. In at least one case a school principal has shown his independence by refusing to permit his school's participation in ESAA at all.

Perhaps more serious, however, is the fact that the ESAA program director has generally even been unable to exercise adequate authority over mid-level ESAA program adminstrators, let alone site staff. Each of the five components of the ESAA program has had a separate administrative head. These persons have generally been drawn from within the district, and have held tenured status and a higher rank and salary than the ESAA program director. Although nominally under the program director's control, the component heads' greater security and power within the district have generally meant they could go their own ways, and the program director has been powerless to prevent conflict and competition between components that have been destructive to the program as a whole.

A major arena for inter-component competition has been the allocation of jobs during periods of ESAA program contraction. An example of how inter-component competition for jobs could apparently be destructive for the ESAA program is provided by a situation in which an elementary-school-based component was ending while a junior high school based component was continuing the following year. Twenty-two jobs were available in the junior high school component, and about 200 teachers applied for them. Among these applicants were 17 who had spent the previous year working in the junior high component and who presumably were familiar with the component's goals and practices and with junior high school teaching and adminstrative staff and students. Only three of these 17 persons were hired, while the remainder of the openings were filled primarily with persons from the elementary school component, reportedly largely because the head of the elementary school component was politically more powerful within the district than was the head of the junior high school component. Many of the elementary school teachers reportedly had difficulty learning both the new program and the differences in teacher behavior required by junior high students compared with elementary students.

Inter-component competition for jobs was also occasionally a factor causing the delay in hiring ESAA staff until after the start of the school year, but the funding award schedule and regular district hiring practices were the major causative elements in this chronic ESAA administrative problem. Virtually every year ESAA staff would not be hired until after school opened in the fall. Word of the next year's funding would be received in July, but since most of the district office staff vacations in July, hiring procedures, which involve interviewing, would not be started until August. At this time program components and the various racial and cultural factions in the city would begin politiking for the available jobs, a process which reportedly created great bitterness every year. Final staff allocation could not be made until after school had opened and enrollment patterns stabilized, because the district had to determine the number of "consolidated teachers" (surplus tenured teachers created by declining enrollments) the ESAA program would be required to absorb. As a result of all these factors ESAA staff members would not be hired until September and October, and in some years hiring continued even into November and December.

Resource Teachers: The fact that ESAA staff members would come "drifting" into the schools weeks, and even months, after school opened meant that school routines had already been established and that ESAA was often to some extent disruptive. This problem was particularly great for the ESAA resource teachers. The other teachers in the school already tended to regard the ESAA resource teachers with a mixture of envy and resentment. Many saw the ESAA resource teacher jobs as "sort of a plum," because the jobs were perceived as easy and as having freedom from normal classroom routine and responsibility. These teachers then were resentful when an ESAA resource teacher tried to get them to do "extra work" by introducing new multicultural classroom activities. Their resentment could be demonstrated not only by refusing to implement the resource teacher's suggestions in their own class activity, but also by setting a negative example for the children by not participating or paying attention when the resource teacher was directly leading some activity in the class.

A number of other factors contributed to the establishment and maintenance of barriers between ESAA resource teachers and regular teachers. ESAA resource teachers were impermanent outsiders whose commitment to overcoming job performance barriers was often sidetracked by their own search for a permanent teaching position either in or outside the district. Even if the tight job market forced an ESAA resource teacher to return to the program for a second or third year, seniority hiring practices and other considerations usually meant that the resource teacher was shifted to another school, making it impossible to build upon previously established contacts and working relationships. In later years of ESAA funding, when a resource teacher was assigned to several schools rather than just a single school, working relationships became even more difficult to establish, since sometimes the teachers at a school would assume the resource teacher was lazily idle when not actually engaged in activities at their school. Multiple school responsibilities may have helped ESAA resource teachers at parochial schools, however, because salary differentials were less obvious under those circumstances. Under single school assignment resentment had run high because the ESAA resource teachers were usually making almost twice as much as the parochial school teachers whose cooperation they were attempting to elicit.

Program planners had originally considered drawing ESAA resource teachers from the faculties at the schools they would serve. If the ESAA resource teachers could have been socially integrated and respected members of the staffs from the beginning, their effectiveness would presumably have been enhanced. In a few cases ESAA resource teachers were actually drawn from existing school staff and were very successful in the position. But this source of ESAA staff was the exception rather than the rule, primarily because the program could not guarantee the teachers's return to tenured status and felt it could not afford the salary levels of relatively senior teachers.

Most of the resource teacher staff hired at the beginning of the ESAA funding period were new hires or very junior, non-tenured staff members, both hired under "limited contract." This pattern of hiring had several beneficial aspects. It provided almost the only opportunity to install a minority teacher in a school, because the pattern of drastically shrinking enrollment in the district had led to a hiring freeze on teaching positions. Also, the ESAA staff members tended to be young, providing another needed balance to the older, predominantly white, tenured teaching staff. But youth was generally accompanied by inexperience, and although in many cases limited contract resource teachers were able to learn quickly and perform well, in some cases inexperience was a handicap. Even if inexperience was not an actual performance handicap, it sometimes was difficult for the regular teachers to accept their younger ESAA colleagues in an advisory capacity.

Enrollment continued to shrink during the period of ESAA funding, creating a large number of surplus, "consolidated" elementary school teachers and leading to a change in ESAA resource teacher hiring practices. It became district policy to absorb many of the consolidated teachers into the ESAA program. This practice reached a peak in the 1975-76 school year when consolidated teachers constituted about 40 percent of ESAA certificated staff.

The policy of hiring consolidated teachers had both positive and negative effects on the ESAA program. The consolidated teachers were experienced, and sometimes had previously established working relationships with other teachers, although (when they started as an ESAA staff member) they were usually shifted to a school different from the one they had been working in. The consolidated teachers, however, were often perceived, fairly or not, as rejects, those weeded out by a principal as being less competent than others at a given seniority level. This perception naturally hampered their effectiveness in the program and damaged ESAA staff morale to the extent that the program was perceived as a "dumping ground." The fact that the consolidated teachers often "bumped out" the limited contract teachers, even those with one or more years' experience with the program, also did not help morale, and the consolidated teachers' higher salaries created a strain on the ESAA program budget.

Perhaps the most significant negative factor, however, was the attitudes of the consolidated teachers themselves. The fact that they were being denied their accustomed place and forced into an unaccustomed, temporary job could not have enhanced their enthusiasm and commitment. Some reportedly perceived desegregation as the cause of shrinking enrollments through "white flight," and thus the prime source of their predicament. These persons may have brought an especially negative attitude toward their makeshift new job in a program associated with the desegregation effort.

A continuing problem faced by both the consolidated and the limited contract ESAA resource staff teachers was that of job subversion or supplanting by the school principal. ESAA duties were usually not highly defined and structured, and were not well understood by most principals because ESAA central staff did not have adequate time and resources to acquaint them with the program. The principals, faced with an administrative staff cutback because of district financial difficulties, did know that they had great need for persons to perform tasks such as lunchroom monitoring, office administrative tasks, and even substitute teaching. Under these circumstances there was continual pressure on ESAA staff to undertake duties that were not in accord with their ESAA employment mandate.

Subversion of ESAA staff was apparently not general or severe, but it did occur. There are a number of reasons why it was difficult for an ESAA resource teacher to resist an insistent school principal. In the case of the limited contract resource teachers, they had primarily been hired by the school principal, perhaps with the assistance of a staff and parent interviewing committee. Neither the limited contract nor the consolidated resource teachers could count on support from the weak ESAA central administration in a confrontation. But perhaps the most significant factor was that the school principal wrote the evaluations of the ESAA staff in his school; thus, their chances for acquiring a permanent teaching position in the district, or even for staying with the ESAA program, were highly dependent upon the principal's favorable impression. Subversion became a less significant problem later in the ESAA program when a single resource teacher was assigned to several schools, because under those circumstances the staff member was less under the control of a single principal.

Counselors: Much of what has been written about ESAA resource teachers also applies to the ESAA counselors. Their duties were also usually ill-defined, and they suffered problems of subversion; there were complaints that they were being used as assistant principals, required to supervise classes and the school yard. The counselors usually arrived after the start of the school year, and the insecurity of their position also made finding a more permanent job a top priority for them.

The lack of continuity of ESAA staff at a particular school was a special problem for the counselors. Their job involved establishing relationships with students and with teachers. Often, it would take a counselor half the school year to get oriented and to establish trust with teachers in order to obtain student referrals from them. Then that counselor usually would not be assigned to the same school again, even if the school requested his assignment, and he would have to start all over again at another school the following year.

The ESAA counselors were the first to perform a counseling function in the San Francisco elementary schools; so both the counselor and the school administrators were usually somewhat uncertain as to appropriate activities. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that there were many complaints that the training of the counselors was inadequate. Also, most were teachers and had not had previous training or experience as counselors. Rather, they were often thrust into the position as a result of consolidation and had to learn as best they could.

The most successful portion of the ESAA counseling program may have been the junior high school level "Activities Specialist," at those schools where the counselor emphasized extra-curricular activity support, rather than one-to-one counseling. The activities specialist could help organize and sponsor many extra-curricular clubs and other activities which provided an arena for social integration in the school. Student friendships formed in the course of these activities reportedly eased many of the problems associated with desegregation in the schools. Many of the activities ceased, however, when the ESAA counseling program ended in the junior high schools in 1976.

Paraprofessional Classroom Aides: Paraprofessionals filled primarily two roles in the ESAA program, classroom aides and parent liaisons. Their role as parent liaisons is discussed in the next section of the report. As classroom aides, paraprofessionals were a major source of parent involvement in the schools and in the ESAA program. Most were women with children in the San Francisco schools, and their numbers were closely representative of the district's minority population percentages.

An important aspect of the classroom aide's job was the relationship she could establish with the ESAA resource teacher and with the school's regular teachers. As described above, the ESAA resource teacher had a number of pressures and problems. On top of these was often the presence of an aide who had received no special training and in some cases did not speak English well. Under these circumstances the relationship between teacher and aide was sometimes a difficult one, especially when an inexperienced aide required almost as much supervision as the children. Because of this, aides sometimes were even banished from the classroom to playground or hall duty by teachers.

Additionally, there was never much attention given to matching teachers and classroom aides. Even when a good working relationship was established it usually was broken up in the annual ESAA staff shuffle from school to school. Teachers usually could not request a particular aide and had no control over who would be assigned to them.

Problems with teacher-aide relationships have tended to become less frequent and less severe in the course of the district's ESAA funding period. Because of the tight job market, and the tight teaching job market in particular, the educational level of persons applying for paraprofessional positions has risen dramatically. Many now have college educations and even teaching credentials, and are as well or better qualified than the teachers they assist. Most ESAA paraprofessionals are reportedly now making a significant and valuable contribution in the classroom.

Parent and Community Involvement

The constructive involvement of parents, particularly minority parents, in the education of their children has been an important goal of the ESAA program in San Francisco since its inception. The major way the program has attempted to obtain parent involvement is by annually funding a corps of paraprofessional parent liaisons or community relations specialists. During some funding years one parent liaison has been allocated to every elementary school in the city, while during other years a single parent liaison has had responsibility for several elementary schools. Parent liaisons have also been installed on the secondary school level during some funding years. During some years a Parent Leader Specialist position has been funded to supervise and coordinate the activities of eight or nine parent liaisons assigned to separate schools.

As a group, the parent liaisons have approximated the district ethnic percentages, although in some categories, such as Chinese and Samoans, it has reportedly been difficult to find women willing to take the job. The job is a full-time one, and the additional family income it provides is a prime motivating factor for most participants. Although activities have varied greatly from school to school, parent liaisons have generally conducted home visits, helped organize evening programs to attract parents to the school, helped with PTA, and generally served as intermediaries between parents and the school, and between parents of different ethnic backgrounds in the solution of problems.

There is general consensus that the parent liaisons have had only very limited success in obtaining parent involvement in the schools. Several reasons are advanced for the failure to obtain greater involvement. These include the difficulty of overcoming parent apathy, the feeling of most parents that they have inadequate free time, and the distance of the school from the neighborhood because of busing. But the major reason, reportedly, is that the school district administration is afraid that stimulation of parent involvement will inevitably lead to parent interference. For this reason school administration never really supported the efforts of the parent liaisons. In fact, constraints set upon the parent liaisons by many school principals are cited as one of the major problem areas for ESAA program subversion. Because the school principal wrote the evaluation for the parent liaison, in many cases she risked a bad evaluation if she did a good job of stimulating parent interest in (and criticism of) the school.

Formal parent and community involvement in the ESAA program also was obtained through the Citizens Advisory Committee required by ESAA guidelines. In San Francisco this group consisted of 30 to 40 persons. The large group was necessary to adequately represent the city's five major ethnic groups in accordance with the ESAA guidelines. About half the group were parents of children in the San Francisco schools. The Citizens Advisory Committee reviewed and commented on ESAA proposals and monitored the program budget to insure that there were no major subversions of ESAA project funds. On the insistence of the Advisory Committee the Oral and Written program component was added, component priorities were shifted, and adjustments were made in staff training.

Nevertheless, there was substantial dissatisfaction with the effectiveness of the Advisory Committee. Members felt that the Committee basically had no power, no functional role in management of the program, and that the school district generally ignored their recommendations. On certain issues the Committee tried to make demands, and wrote official letters to the school district, to OCR, to the program officer in the regional USOE office, and to Washington in support of those demands. But, members claim, eventually the Committee "gave up" and became a "rubber stamp" listening to testimony about how great the ESAA program was.

Some acknowledge, however, that it was not only the alleged indifference of the school district to community opinion, but also problems internal to the Committee that accounted for its ineffectiveness. For one, the Committee may have been too big; the ESAP advisory committee had consisted of a more workable eight persons and was reportedly a powerful group. For another, the Committee often split along racial or ethnic factions and dissipated its energy with internal bickering. One subject of this bickering was the allocation of ESAA jobs among the various groups. In these, and other, debates the effectiveness of some Committee members was compromised, because they themselves held ESAA paraprofessionals jobs and so were reluctant to significantly challenge the program and their own job security.

Perceptions of ESAA

The ESAA program was perceived as one of the few programs (and by some as the only program) in the San Francisco school district that was concerned with promoting integration as opposed to desegregation. The school district, it was argued, was almost exclusively concerned with desegregation, with busing and "moving bodies around," while ESAA served as virtually the sole reminder that the achievement of successful integration required other changes as well. The ESAA program was seen as providing moral, as well as material, support to those in the district dedicated to achieving true integration.

ESAA was also seen to be important as a job program and as a way in which the school district could find the additional funds necessary to hire minority staff in a period of shrinking enrollment and teacher surplus. Most of the minority teachers in the San Francisco school district were able to get their jobs only because of ESAA funding. The ESAA jobs provided upward mobility for minorities and, for paraprofessionals, were often an important source of supplementary family income.

Other major benefits credited to ESAA include the placement of counselors in the city's elementary schools for the first time, and the opening of channels of communication between parents and school officials. Although the parent involvement component of the ESAA program met only limited success, the ESAA program in some cases provided an opportunity for the school principal to work with the parent liaison on the school's public relations and image in the community. Through these activities some administrators came to realize the importance of keeping communication lines to parents open.

In regard to improvement of the ESAA program, suggestions focused on three basic areas: changes in program monitoring; changes in program scope; and changes in staffing procedures and practices.

The largest number of suggestions for program change were in the area of program monitoring. Suggestions were also most consistent in this area. Basically, it was argued that the ESAA program should be subjected to greater external monitoring and control to insure that the program sets reasonable objectives and focuses its activities on achieving those objectives.

The reasons behind this suggestion are clear in the context of program management in San Francisco; the continual turnover of superintendents left the district as a whole without strong leadership during the funding period, and the ESAA program administration was too weak to take unilateral action. Under these circumstances there was no authority internal to the district managing the program, except at the local school level. Problems that required broader, program-wide corrective action were identified year after year by internal evaluation reports, advisory committees, interested community spokespersons, and even by ESAA program staff and administration themselves, but nothing was done. In their frustration, virtually all persons interviewed in the course of this study, including school district employees, saw a need for much greater program control external to the school district.

There was also remarkable agreement among respondents regarding the major appropriate source of this greater external control: "the feds." Basically, it was agreed that more specific guidelines regarding appropriate uses of the money should be formulated by the federal government. Then there should be time, and perhaps planning funds, for the district to draft a specific plan, with a reasonable timetable and measurable objectives. On the basis of this plan, a "performance contract" should then be drawn up between the school district and the federal government, with provisions specifying the penalties, such as withdrawal of funds, for school district failure to perform in accordance with its plan. The USOE program officer should work very closely with the district during program implementation to be appraised of any problems that might justify modification of the plan, but unacceptable departures,(e.g., failure to hire staff within the stated period) should lead to withdrawal of funding for the activities specifically involved (e.g., loss of the positions). The annual performance of the school district should be evaluated by an external evaluator, and the results of that evaluation should be taken into account before any new funds are awarded.

There was also substantial, if less widespread, agreement that the federal government should be assisted in its external monitoring role by the community, primarily through a body similar to the Advisory Committee. This group of community representatives should be given a decision-making role in project planning and implementation, at least to the extent of being given time to review and revise district initiated ideas and activities. Community monitoring of the ESAA program might be conducted by an evaluation committee selected by the main community group and paid on a part-time basis for performance of their duties.

The second area of suggestions involved changes in ESAA program scope. Respondents felt that the length of the funding period for ESAA should be extended to three years, but the scope of program implementation should be carefully limited.

There was widespread agreement that the one-year funding period tended to turn ESAA into a job program because there wasn't time to accomplish anything more substantial. There was also agreement that a three-year funding period was a reasonable alternative. A funding period longer than one year would save for program monitoring substantial administrative time that is currently expended annually in proposal writing. Longer funding would also allow the ESAA program to run during the entire nine months of the school year, instead of for six months as has sometimes been the case because of late hiring. The ESAA staff could leave for the summer knowing whether or not they would be working on the program the following year, and the summer could be used for planning, staff training, and meetings with parents. Finally, under multi-year funding there is a greater chance that the impact of the program would be sufficiently sustained to produce measureable results.

But even under a longer period of funding the scope of the program should be kept reasonable. The focus of the program should be narrowed to activities and objectives that are fairly concrete, and implementation should perhaps be on a pilot basis initially, involving only part of the district's schools.

The third area of suggestions involved changes in ESAA program staffing procedures and practices. Respondents felt that ESAA certificated personnel should be drawn from existing school staff, should receive better training, and their performance should be evaluated by ESAA administrators.

It was suggested that ESAA resource teachers and counselors should be volunteers who are socially integrated and respected faculty members of the school in which they perform ESAA services. They should be able to accept the ESAA position without threatening their tenure, being replaced by a limited contract teacher for as long as their involvement with the ESAA program continues. Presumably, in this way more staff members who are interested in the ESAA program for its own sake, and not for the sake of a job, would be obtained, and these persons would be in a position to influence their colleagues in a cooperative work relationship. The training of all ESAA staff members should be of high quality, intensive, mandatory, and occur primarily prior to the opening of schools in the fall. Staff performance should be evaluated primarily by ESAA administrators and not by school principals whose functional staffing needs may differ from those of the ESAA program.

CRA-Title IV

Title IV assistance to San Francisco was provided through direct grants to the school district in 1970-71 and 1971-72. Since then, no direct Title IV grants have been received. Other potential sources of Title IV assistance have been the Title IV General Assistance Center at Far West Laboratories in San Francisco and the Bureau of Inter-Group Relations in the state education agency (recipient of a Title IV SEA Technical Assistance grant). However, San Francisco has evidently made only light use of either of these groups. Accordingly, the following discussion will focus on the LEA grants, followed by a brief discussion of the GAC and SEA groups.

LEA Grants

San Francisco Unified School District received approximately $139,000 under Title IV for 1970-71, and about $150,000 for 1971-72. Beginning in the fall of 1972, when much larger amounts of money began to be received under the Emergency School Aid Program (ESAP), requests for Title IV assistance were discontinued.

Proposal Development and Contents: Title IV proposals for both years were written largely by the Title IV program director, who previously had been a community organization worker in the desegregation plan for the Richmond and Park South Complexes (see Section III). In developing proposal contents, the director worked with representatives of the various groups participating in planning and implementation of the design of the complexes, including administrators, teachers, staff, and parents. A grant from the Council of Great City Schools helped fund these early efforts.

The focus during both years of Title IV funding was on in-service training and community education, designed to meet two basic needs. As stated in the proposal for 1971-72, these were: "(1) the need to prepare Complex administration and teachers for their education leadership roles; and (2) the need for a broad base of community understanding and support for quality integrated education." Coming at the outset of the desegregation efforts in the Richmond and Park South Complexes, the Title IV program represented an attempt to "lessen the shock" of desegregation through widespread community and school involvement. It was hoped that the program would help create a feeling of local control in spite of the fact that desegregation meant that each school community was necessarily becoming less localized.

The central aspect of the program, as set up in the proposals, was the establishment in each of the 20 schools in the Park South and Richmond Complexes of a "lead team." Each team was comprised of the building principal, a teacher, a noncertified staff person and a custodian. Together, these individuals were to receive in-service human relations training, the lessons from which they were to carry back to the rest of their school's staff. To support these teams, four community liaison positions were established under the overall supervision of a field representative. It was intended that these five persons would act as consultants to the schools in the areas of multi-cultural curriculum and race relations.

Staffing and Activities: The first Title IV program was scheduled to begin in April, 1970. However, initial funding evidently was not received until July, and most staff hiring did not begin until September. The program director was appointed in the interim; with Title IV funds she provided assistance during the summer for human relations workshops for school staff, to prepare them for the opening of the Richmond Complex. Considerable time was also spent reviewing proposals from private consulting firms for providing in-service teacher training; ultimately, all these proposals were rejected.

During the fall of 1970, lead teams were selected from each of the 12 Richmond Complex schools, and team members participated in two workshops. Not until January, 1971, were the four community liaison workers and the field representative (essentially, the assistant director of the program) hired.

The difficulties that caused this delay in hiring are indicative of the kinds of problems repeatedly faced by both the Title IV and ESAA programs. One difficulty was that non-certificated persons (i.e., not certificated for teaching positions) were being hired for positions that the district had previously filled only with certificated persons. This created great difficulties within the district bureaucracy because no one knew what civil service classifications these new persons should receive. Also, this period was one of great demands for community involvement, and the numerous meetings that had to take place on various issues slowed the hiring process. Moreover, the district administration was in a state of disruption because a new superintendent (Thomas Shaheen) had just taken over and because the school board was, in the words of one respondent, "generally disgruntled." On top of this, and probably partly because of it, some felt few in the district shared any commitment or sense of urgency to get the program started. As one respondent noted, "Title IV was really at the bottom of the list in terms of priorities."

Beginning in January, 1971, staff orientation and development took place, along with staff and community training in preparation for the opening of the Park South Complex in the Fall of 1971. The lead teams in the Richmond Complex also continued to receive training and to work within their schools on desegregation issues. Following the opening of the Park South Complex, lead teams were selected in each of the eight schools there, and training began with these groups.

The community liaison workers acted primarily as trouble shooters to the schools, visiting parents in their homes, observing classrooms, and helping to resolve teacher-student conflicts and other similar difficulties. As noted above, the intended function of these staff members was as consultants to the schools' lead teams on multi-cultural curriculum and awareness. However, their lack of teaching credentials and the fact that most were outsiders to the school system reportedly led to credibility and rapport difficulties that effectively prohibited them from serving in their intended capacities. An added difficulty was that the lead teams in the Richmond Complex had all been in operation for several months before the liaison workers joined the staff in January 1971. As a result of this "hiring gap," the lead teams evidently never felt that the liaison workers were really a part of the team, even less that they were team facilitators.

Activities performed by the lead teams included the provision of multi-cultural materials, organization of school workshops, inter-school exchanges, and field trips for students of a variety of ethnic groups. Because there were little or no Title IV funds for use at individual school sites, however, lead teams were relatively restricted in the activities they could perform with their school's faculty. Perhaps related to the lack of funds was an apparent lack of direction or supervision regarding what activities lead teams should or could perform at their school sites. Consequently, there was considerable variability in the teams' effectiveness; success depended largely on the attitudes and inclinations of the building principal.

The community education component of the Title IV program was handled largely by the community liaison workers and the field representative. One of their most important functions in this area was the translation of press releases and newsletters regarding San Francisco schools and desegregation into all the various languages spoken by parents of school children. These translated editions were then distributed directly to the parents and to the ethnic newspapers in the city. Another function was to hold regular meetings between the Title IV staff and the Citizen's Advisory Councils of both desegregation complexes; Title IV staff also met with the citywide desegregation planning group. In general, the program was felt to be very active in the development of parent and community involvement in the schools.

Perceptions of Title IV: Because the Title IV program ended five years before this study began, only a few respondents were available to provide information about the program. For the most part, these were individuals who had been involved in some way with the running of the program. Thus, the perspective we obtained on this program is not as wide as that obtained on ESAA.

Of those who did provide information, most felt that the strengths of the program were in the community involvement component. The translation activities were felt to be especially beneficial. As one respondent stated, "This was one of the things San Francisco did do right." Some of the respondents also felt that the program was effective in encouraging parent participation, though one respondent felt that this aspect "never really came off," largely because some of the ethnic groups "aren't ready for this kind of thing."

The weakest element of the program was generally felt to be the in-service training in general, and the lead team approach in particular. Some of the difficulties encountered in this area have already been discussed. Although some respondents claimed that the lead team approach helped to break down status barriers, others felt that it did not do so and moreover that weakening status barriers in this manner was an unrealistic goal.

Most of the comments about the program centered on predominantly local considerations such as those discussed above. However, there were some comments more directly related to federal policy considerations. As with ESAA, though to a lesser extent, there was some feeling that Title IV funds simply provided jobs. This was reportedly due in part to the distrust and suspicion engendered by short-term programs; the implication was that people were unwilling to commit themselves to program goals because when funding ceased in the near future, any gains that had been made would quickly fade away.

Another desire paralleled the feeling that controls on the ESAA programs should be tightened. In regard to Title IV, this was expressed as a need for mandated in-service training. With mandatory training, anti-desegregationists would be forced to "hear the truth and know what they really are."

Overall, the feeling about the Title IV program was generally that though there were competent individuals in charge, the program nevertheless had "no direction," probably because, as another respondent put it, it was "always a step-child." Yet another person noted that the problem was not in any lack of guidance from Washington; it was, rather, an internal problem: "There were just too many district disruptions going on at the same time that Title IV was trying to get off the ground."

Title IV General Assistance Center: Far West Laboratories

Beginning in 1975, Far West Laboratories in San Francisco has been funded annually as a General Assistance Center. In this capacity, Far West has sponsored a variety of training sessions for school personnel and student leaders, and has developed a variety of curriculum materials. Some San Francisco school personnel probably have attended workshops at various times. One respondent noted that the district has used some Title IV-related curriculum materials developed by Far West and has used the Far West facilities on some occasions (for unspecified purposes). However, no systematic utilization of Far West services has been made by the San Francisco school district.

Title IV SEA Grant: State Bureau of Inter-Group Relations

The Bureau of Inter-Group Relations in the State Education Agency has been funded as a technical assistance center for several years. Their emphasis is on one-to-one technical assistance provided to school district personnel upon request. Topics have included desegregation plan design, desegregation implementation, and curriculum modification planning.

The focus of their work with San Francisco has been assistance with the development of a multi-cultural curriculum. Although they feel that San Francisco is one of their priority districts, they reported having dealt more extensively with many other districts. One reason cited for this was that larger districts, such as San Francisco, "generally tend to think they can do things by themselves." Since the Bureau can only provide help upon request, the staff are unable to press their services on any district. Interestingly, at least one moderately high level district administrator seemed unaware of the Bureau's availability, commenting that "San Francisco has a great need for technical assistance . . . The best people are in the SEA but these were not tapped. The federal government should fund the SEA for technical assistance, because school districts just don't know what will be needed for desegregation."

The Office for Civil Rights (OCR)

Activities

The OCR office responsible for San Francisco is the Region IX office in San Francisco, located just across the street from the San Francisco Unified School District's central administration offices. Region IX's Elementary and Secondary Education Branch is staffed by about 25 professionals and seven clerical staff persons. This staff is responsible for civil rights enforcement in school districts in California, Arizona, Nevada, Hawaii, and the Trusts--a total of about 1540 districts (of which 1400 are in California).

Professional time is divided among three main areas: responses to complaints, ESAA reviews, and OCR-initiated compliance reviews. Of these, complaints reportedly require the greatest effort: One staff person reported that slightly over half the office's time in 1976-77 was spent responding to complaints. The focus of the complaints evidently varies as new legislation goes into effect or national or regional concerns shift: In 1975-76, the largest portion of complaints dealt with Lau; in 1976-77, Title IX cases predominated; and with the recent passage of "504", the office is expecting to receive more complaints regarding services available for the handicapped.

For a month or two early each year, the staff reportedly "drop everything else" and work on ESAA reviews. Originally, the staff regularly conducted on-site reviews of ESAA applicants, but in 1974, the central OCR office in Washington restricted these by reducing the travel allowed the regional offices. Now on-site reviews are performed only when there are "strong indications that something is very wrong." One OCR respondent noted that the staff are too busy to do on-site reviews now, anyway, and that the staff can usually rely on their analysis of the forms to determine compliance. Nevertheless, some suspicion remains that the forms may on occasion be less than completely accurate.

Selection of OCR-initiated compliance reviews is based largely on such factors as proximity, size of district (the large districts receiving priority), availability of staff, timing, and, of course, indication of possible non-compliance in the OCR 101 and 102 survey forms.

Also, all regional offices must operate within guidelines established by the Washington office regarding the minimum effort that must be expended on each category of discrimination (Title VI, Title IX, Lau, and 504).

OCR Involvement in San Francisco

One of OCR's earliest involvements in San Francisco was a Title VI review that began in 1969. This review continued for two years until the district was taken to court in 1971 by the NAACP. Though the review had not been completed at this time, it was nevertheless discontinued under OCR's standard implicit agreement not to monitor districts that are under court order and being reviewed in court.

Since that time, OCR's involvement with San Francisco has been primarily in the area of ESAP and ESAA reviews. The 1971 ESAP review found "many schools" out of compliance, and San Francisco was required to make various adjustments in enrollment patterns before funding could be received. In 1974, the ESAA review found that only 704 out of an estimated 6,511 limited-English-speaking students were receiving a comprehensive education. Suitable additions to programs in English as a second language were therefore required in order for ESAA funds to be received that year. In 1975, the ESAA Advisory Committee registered a complaint with OCR regarding the district's policies in implementing the ESAA program. The Committee had three major areas of concerns: (1) the use of ESAA funds to pay salaries to tenured certificated staff in order to avoid terminating those employees; (2) deterioration of the program due to the replacement of trained and experienced ESAA teachers (who had been under "limited contract" with the district) with tenured teachers who had no training for or experience with ESAA; and (3) the reliance on federal funds (e.g., ESAA) for hiring minority faculty to help in achieving a racially balanced and integrated staff. OCR's response, in essence, was that it could do nothing about the Committee's concerns, as the first two areas were within USOE's domain, and the third area involved activities that were not illegal.

Other areas of OCR involvement with San Francisco have included correspondence regarding possible discriminatory effects of the secondary schools' transfer policy (1974), racial imbalance in classes for the educably mentally retarded (1975 and 1976), and noncompliance with Title VI (1976). Most recently (Spring 1977), OCR has received complaints from the San Francisco NAACP branch regarding: (1) the more than 60 percent suspension rate for black students, (2) the dismantling of the Office of Integration, (3) the lack of opportunity for community input in grant applications, (4) use of Federal funds for expenditures formerly paid for by state and local budgets, and (5) other abuses of Title I and ESAA funds. OCR responded that the suspensions of students was the only one of these issues subject to OCR monitoring in San Francisco. The other issues fell under the jurisdiction of the district court or the Office of Education and were referred accordingly.

Perceptions of OCR

As with the CRA-Title IV program, relatively few persons are familiar with OCR, mostly because, it seems, OCR staff deal with relatively few persons within the district administration and tend to keep a low profile. OCR is most visible--and produces the most rancor--through the 101 and 102 forms that a large number of school and district staff must participate in completing each year.

OCR staff we talked to seemed to accept this phenomenon as more or less a fact of life: "We're often viewed as bad guys," one said, "but we try to take off the rough edges by not pushing our weight around, ... and we try not to take it personally." That they indeed should not "take it personally" is attested to by assertions of several district respondents that the OCR representatives are "good people" and have been reasonable to deal with.

District Perceptions: Given the nature of OCR as an enforcement agency, it is not surprising that those inside have rather different concerns and perceptions from those outside, although there is some overlap. To the district, the primary source of concern is, as noted above, the 101 and 102 forms. Mention of these forms touches off a string of complaints:

- On more than one occasion the district has received forms after the due date for submitting the forms to OCR.

"One time," a respondent noted, "we received stuff in January that was due the past October." OCR is reportedly cooperative in granting extensions in these cases, but the district must nevertheless go through the tedious procedure of submitting a formal request for an extension. Moreover, when OCR forms are held up, "everything else" in the district (e.g. funding requests) must also be held up. This in turn leads to the fear (realistic or not) that delays in submitting proposals may lead to lower funding levels because earlier-applying districts have depleted available resources.

- 101 and 102 requirements change continuously in major respects.

Especially in a relatively large and ethnically complex district such as San Francisco, these changes have made efforts to create a data bank of HEW-required information exceedingly frustrating.

- The forms are "horrendously" detailed and in some parts are almost incomprehensible.

This difficulty, needless to say, compounds the two difficulties listed above it. The Lau section, especially, is accused of "reading like an insurance document". Furthermore, many items are felt to be ambiguous or redundant and some of the definitions (e.g. those regarding the handicapped) disagree with definitions provided for OE programs. Parenthetically, it is interesting that, as one respondent claimed, "The hue and cry is not over the racial data." The reason for this seems to be that data requirements have remained fairly constant in this area so San Francisco has a well-developed collection system for these data.

- As a result of the above difficulties, there is considerable resentment at both school and district levels toward the forms in particular and OCR in general.

Although there is recognition by some that much of the information is valuable to HEW, there is nevertheless a feeling of "is all this really necessary?" There are reportedly some school administrators who feel that participation in federally funded programs is simply not worth the "hassle" of collecting all the required information. Others, we were told, feel that even though there may be a legitimate need for the data, it is not they (i.e. educators) who should have to spend time collecting it. Rumors such as, "I've heard that some of the data for four years back hasn't been analyzed," contribute to this resentment.

Thus, for a number of interrelated reasons, district and school personnel are critical of the annual OCR data requirements. To help alleviate these problems, two major suggestions were presented:

(1) Create a task force consisting of representatives from the larger school districts in the nation and of OCR representatives to refine and distill the forms.

The respondent who suggested this step feels that the development of data needs to date has been by statistical and research persons who are not especially sensitive to the logistics of data collection. If a group of representatives from districts with, say, 50,000 or more students met, it is believed that they would largely agree on many of the problem areas. (It was suggested that only the larger districts be involved in this effort because it is felt that data collection causes the greatest problems in these districts.) Together with OCR officials these representatives could help re-state the objectives of the forms and eliminate some of the forms' ambiguities.

(2) Modify data collection requirements so that a major report is required only every three to four years, with reduced forms submitted in the interim.

The argument made here is that districts do not usually change drastically within a three or four year time span, but their staffs still must go through the tedious procedure of collecting new information each year. It would be more efficient and produce less resentment, it is argued, if the entire set of data were required less frequently. If a district did undergo major changes within the three or four year period, however, it should be required to submit data relevant to those changes during the interim.

Although OCR is indeed most visible through its 101 and 102 forms, some of our district respondents did have some feeling for the workings of the office--in particular its power, vis-à-vis both the Washington office and the San Francisco school district. In both comparisons, the regional office is seen as relatively weak, evidently somewhat to the frustration of the respondents. In fact, the frustration here seems to be part of the overall frustration reported in the section on ESAA regarding the apparent inability of anyone to tighten the controls and force some accountability on ESAA and other federally-funded programs.

Regarding district perceptions of the regional office's relationship with the central office in Washington, one district administrator asserted that "the regional office can't make any decisions without first contacting the Washington office." Although this is undoubtedly an exaggeration, it is nevertheless an indication that the regional office is not perceived as having a great deal of authority or independence--a perception which may itself hamper the office's effectiveness in dealing with districts.

Despite all the complaints, OCR _is_ seen as having at least one major area of achievement. In the words of one respondent, it has, to a large extent, "made sure districts stay on the up and up." Without OCR, it is felt, federal money would be less apt to funnel down to those for whom it is intended.

OCR Staff Perceptions: Respondents within the OCR regional office seemed to agree with outsiders that OCR's strength has been in enforcing compliance, though there is a feeling that much more work is still needed here. It is noteworthy that ESAA is generally seen as having helped enforce compliance also. As one source noted, "Lots of good has come out of ESAA because districts desegregate to get funding; ESAA has effected a lot of compliance plans."

OCR respondents also agreed with district sources that the 101 and 102 forms are tedious, and they sympathize with districts' difficulties with them. They, too, would like to see the forms' content remain constant, and they would prefer to give districts advance notice of the contents and more time to respond. As one person commented, "It would certainly make our jobs easier if we could do that."

Three major perceived difficulties with OCR emerged from the interviews with OCR staff: One was related to the structure of the office, a second to the size of the staff, and a third to civil rights leadership. One respondent summarized the first problem as follows: "The bureaucratic maze is the weakest link; everyone is second-guessing everyone else." Although we were told some changes are being made to alleviate these difficulties, the heart of the issue seems to be a conflict between the Washington office and the regional offices over who will make what decisions. In spite of the considerable growth in OCR's areas of enforcement — both regionally and substantively — the Washington office continues to control key enforcement decisions. Thus, final decisions are often made in Washington, though the investigations are performed by the regional staffs.

The relationship between the regional office and the Office of General Counsel (OGC) is also illustrative of the conflicts and bureaucratic tangles involved, as seen from the regional perspective. OGC is the legal arm of HEW and is formally part of the Washington office. OGC attorneys are located in the cities where the regional offices are located, but they are housed -- at least in the case of San Francisco -- not with the OCR staff but with the Department of Justice. To the regional OCR staff, this arrangement does not make for close working relationships. Moreover, instead of working along with the rest of the OCR staff from the beginning of a case, OGC staff do not become involved until requested to do so through a formal request process. Since the OGC attorneys must sign off on the legality of any agreements OCR makes with districts, it was not surprising to hear that a lack of early coordination between the two branches can complicate the process considerably.

This lack of regional autonomy, one respondent claimed, has led the regional offices to feel "hamstrung," especially because, since they are in the field doing the investigations, "they feel they know what is going on, and therefore they should call the tune."

A second major difficulty with OCR--as perceived by our OCR respondents--is simply that there are not nearly enough staff to do the job the regional office is supposed to do. As one said, "The basic problem with compliance is that there is not time [i.e., staff] to go into all the districts." The lack of staff is also seen as one of the reasons why enforcement proceedings often last so long.

A third perceived problem is the lack of commitment at the national level to civil rights in general and school desegregation in particular. What OCR really needs, one respondent maintained, is a massive and systematic "PR" campaign at the national level--complete with media spots, booklets, and so on. But, this person argues, "Many people are still interested in keeping civil rights out of the picture; there just is not much leadership."

V OVERVIEW

In the preceding sections the process of desegregation in San Francisco has been outlined; the roles of ESAA, Title IV, and OCR have been described; and respondents' perceptions of these programs have been discussed.

In retrospect, San Francisco had ample time to plan and implement a desegregation plan. Almost ten years elapsed from the time the issue was officially first brought to the school board's attention to the time when the matter was taken out of its hands by the court order. But instead of facing the issue, the school board and district administration's first reaction was to deny that a desegregation problem existed. Later the issue became politically explosive, directly or indirectly shortening the tenure of a series of school superintendents and leading to a change in the composition of the school board. Finally, when time had run out (due to a court order), desegregation planning was turned over to a small group of citizens whose hastily created plan was drafted with little time for public review or meaningful guidance of school authorities. The resulting plan dealt in a mechanical fashion with shifting enrollments only, instead of also attempting the incorporation of educational programs that would promote desegregation.

Some observers think there have been moments in the last 15 years when desegregation might have been accomplished successfully, "if only" things had gone differently. If the school board and the district administration had seized the initiative early, community opposition might not have had time to grow. If the Mayor had not suddenly become an antibusing spokesman, opposition might not have found a focus. If the school board and superintendent had given their full support to implementation of the limited and "easy" desegregation of the Richmond and Park South complexes, and if the NAACP had delayed filing suit, desegregation might have been able to grow gradually from demonstrated successes in the complexes. Finally, if the desegregation plan had incorporated less massive busing and more positive education programs, subversion might not have been so widespread.

Money was available from ESAA, Title IV, and other sources to mount educational programs in support of desegregation, but as has been described, these programs suffered from the same district administrative confusion which has characterized other aspects of desegregation in San Francisco. Consequently, although the potential existed for these programs--especially ESAA, with its considerable budget--to have substantial impact on the city's desegregation process, they appear to have had relatively little impact. Because the problems have been largely internal to the district, there appears to be relatively little that might be done at the federal level to avoid these kinds of difficulties in the future. Nevertheless, some actions might be taken to encourage more effective use of federal funds, and these are outlined below.

OCR's impact on San Francisco desegregation has also been limited, partly because the district has been in court or under court order since 1971, and partly because OCR's enforcement procedures were too cumbersome and time consuming to effect any major changes before 1971. Still, OCR has effected some adjustments in racial enrollment patterns and programs for limited English-speaking children. The Office's impact has also been felt through the annual requirement of completion of forms 101 and 102. As noted in the earlier description of the office, however, there seemed to be considerable room for improved effectiveness.

APPENDIX C

Case #3

CHATTANOOGA PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Chattanooga, Tennessee

WORKING REPORT

APPENDIX C

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I. INTRODUCTION

This report focuses on the Chattanooga School District in Chattanooga, Tennessee, and is the third in a series of five case studies which examine the role of three federal programs in the process of desegregation. The programs of concern are the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA); Title IV of the Civil Rights Act (CRA-Title IV); and the enforcement of Title VI of CRA by the Office for Civil Rights (OCR). The report primarily describes the activities of these programs within one community, Chattanooga. In order to establish a context within which the program activities may be understood, Chattanooga's history and desegregation process are also described.

The overall objectives of the case studies are to determine the impact of ESAA, CRA-Title IV, and OCR on desegregation in selected school districts across the nation and, on the basis of these findings, suggest means of optimizing future program impacts. This report is based predominantly on interviews with a variety of Chattanoogans knowledgeable about the city's desegregation process, or about ESAA, CRA-Title IV, or OCR. A total of approximately 55 individuals were interviewed individually between November 7 and 11, 1977. Respondents included district level administrators, Board of Education members, ESAA and Title IV program directors and staff, building administrators, teachers, Region IV OCR and Equal Education Opportunity (EEO) staff, ESAA advisory committee members, community representatives active in the desegregation process, and media representatives. Respondents were interviewed on topics appropriate for their particular roles with questions selected from a semi-structured interview guide. In addition to the interviews, limited archival data were also collected relating to ESAA and Title IV (e.g., racial enrollment patterns, proposals for ESAA and Title IV programs, proposed desegregation plans).

The remainder of this report is organized as follows: Section II, "The Setting for Desegregation," provides an overview of the Chattanooga community and its history, with particular emphasis on the city's history of race relations. The process of desegregation, beginning in the mid-1950's and continuing to the present, is the focus of Section III. Section IV, "Federal Legislated Involvement in Desegregation," consists of a discussion of ESAA, CRA-Title IV, and OCR. An overview in Section V concludes the report.

II. THE SETTING FOR DESEGREGATION

The city of Chattanooga is located on the Moccasin Bend of the Tennessee River, almost directly in the center of a metropolitan area that encompasses six counties, three in Tennessee and three in Georgia. As the seat of Hamilton County, Chattanooga has a population of approximately 170,000 persons.

According to the 1970 Census about 35 percent of the city's population is black. In contrast, metropolitan Chattanooga (with a 1970 population of 305,755) is only about 16 percent black. Within Chattanooga proper, 20 percent of all families are below poverty level; the comparable percentage for black families is 36 percent. In educational attainment, too, blacks fall behind: The median number of years in school for all heads of households within the city limits is 11.3 years; black heads of households average 9.7 years in school.

Historically, Chattanooga's population has consisted of relatively large segments of both the poor and the wealthy, with a relatively small middle class segment. Although the middle income population has increased considerably since about World War II, the city reportedly is still controlled mostly by the wealthy.

Chattanooga's economy is based largely on tourism, insurance business, warehousing and distribution, and manufacturing. About 600 manufacturers in the area employ over 60,000 persons, with an annual payroll of $481 million. More than 1500 types of goods are produced, including textiles, steam boilers, nuclear reactors, farm implements, furniture, and chemicals. The city is also the headquarters for the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) power system, the nation's largest producer of electricity. The TVA was largely responsible for Tennesee's transition to industry in the 1930's and brought the first electrification to many areas in the South.

Chattanooga's attraction as a tourist center derives from its picturesque countryside and its historic environs. The city is located in a wooded valley surrounded on three sides by hills or mountains. Lookout Mountain on one side rises 2,391 feet above the valley floor, providing a panoramic view of the valley's forests, prairies, and winding river. Of greatest historic interest is the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park, site of major Civil War battles.

The governing body of the city consists of a mayor and four commissioners, all elected by popular vote. Each commissioner heads one of the following departments: Education and Health, Fire and Police, Public Works, and Public Utilities. The Commissioner of Education and Health automatically becomes the chairman of the Board of Education.

Most white--and some black--Chattanoogans pride themselves on the relatively harmonious history of race relations in their community. In their view, if blacks have not achieved the freedom of action in Chattanooga that they have attained in some areas of the nation, neither have they suffered the degree of inequity which has existed in sections of the Deep South. Two factors are cited as having been primarily responsible for the maintenance of peaceful biracial interactions: Chattanooga's economy and its heterogeneous population.

From the beginning, Chattanooga's economy was different than that of the Deep South, in which huge plantations were characteristic. In Tennessee, the majority of the population were small farmers with little cash income, and slave labor was frequently unprofitable. In the proportion of slaves to whites, the general average in the South was one to two; in Chattanooga, it was approximately one to six. Thus, some claim, the South's "master-slave" psychology and attendant intense racial prejudice were never fully developed in Chattanooga.

The second factor in peaceful biracial interactions, the heterogeneity of Chattanooga's population, grew largely out of the advent of the railroads in the 1840s. By 1860, Chattanooga had residents from virtually all states in the union and from ten foreign countries. In the decades following the Civil War, the population of Chattanooga became increasingly heterogeneous. A large liberal element was added by the influx of Union soldiers who had been stationed in Chattanooga as part of General Sherman's army and who returned after the war to live. Some of the descendants of these soldiers help constitute a small but vocal group of white citizens who have been actively engaged in the struggle for civil rights.

For whatever reasons, there has been little racial violence in Chattanooga, with most racial conflict taking the form of peaceful sit-ins, picketing, and demonstrations. Nevertheless, many blacks feel that the economic, social, and educational progress they are making in Chattanooga is not as great as it should be. Most of the community's black leaders feel disillusioned regarding the possibility of any lasting progress for blacks. As one black community leader explained:

> In the 60s, blacks believed the rhetoric of all the poverty programs; they really believed that they would finally get some control over their destinies. But little remains of those programs and that rhetoric. So now when we hear the same slogans being mouthed about desegregation we find it hard to feel optimistic about the future.

Another source of discouragement among blacks is that little redevelopment of the inner city is seen, and the outlook seems dim for the development of integrated housing patterns:

> There has been some inner city redevelopment here but it's come mostly from people without kids. There is no evidence of home buying trends that will help produce integration. The community has never been blatantly racist; it has taken pride in good race relations. What exists is tolerance on both sides; there are few extraverted efforts. But basically, it is a very conservative community regarding integrated neighborhoods.

Claims are also made that one of the reasons for recent annexations of county areas (which have a relatively high proportion of whites) was to diminish the political threat of blacks gaining control. As one respondent saw it:

> For a time, the power structure was threatened by the possibility of having a black mayor in Chattanooga. In addition to getting more land for manufacturing and

> extending the city limits, annexation reduced this threat. Now there are more whites in the electorate.

The existence of a few blacks in positions of leadership in Chattanooga only tends to reinforce the belief of some of Chattanooga's black leaders that these appointments are made primarily to manipulate and keep them under control. Typical of this belief is the following:

> A casual observer, seeing blacks in administrative positions here and there, might believe that the black community in Chattanooga is making progress and gaining power. To some extent this is true, but any perception of real power is a fantasy. Blacks are controlled by power elites everywhere. They are allowed just the right amount of progress. But when progress becomes too threatening to the power structure, checks and controls are applied.

Some claim that this manipulation and control of black power has also contributed significantly to the lack of cohesion in the black community. The black population, it is said, is just beginning to acquire a middle-class segment; most of the leaders represent only the first generation of college students. Those blacks who have been placed in positions of seeming influence do not want to lose this middle-class status. Thus, it is claimed, they are easily subject to manipulation and generally reluctant to unite with the more vocal black leaders who are not part of Chattanooga's power structure, but are seeking justice and equality for blacks.

In sum, Chattanooga is characterized by relatively little overt racial conflict, with a fairly liberal white community (relative to many other southern communities) and the absence of any cohesive militant black groups. Nevertheless, a sense of discouragement and even resentment does exist among segments of the black community, reflecting a concern that the black minority may never share community power equally with the white majority.

The Chattanooga Public School District

As of September 1977, the Chattanooga Public School District contained 38 elementary schools, 13 junior highs, and five senior high schools. Staffing the schools is a total of slightly over 1,000 teachers, of whom 37 percent are minority.

There are 27,373 students enrolled in grades one through twelve, including enrollments from areas annexed by the city in recent years. If only the "old city" is considered, enrollment totals 16,883. Since the district began desegregating in 1961, the percentage of black students in the old city has increased from 42 to 68 percent. Annexation, however, has meant that more whites have been brought into the city, thereby lowering the total percentage of blacks to 45 percent.

Since 1961, old city enrollments have declined by 9,671 students, with a net decrease in white enrollment of 64 percent and a net increase in black enrollment of two percent. During the same period of time, private school enrollments have increased by 3,493 students, most of whom are reportedly white. (No data were available on the racial mix of private school enrollments.) Thus, while in 1961-62 the private school enrollments comprised 13 percent of the students in the city, they comprised 22 percent in 1976-77.

Paralleling the increase in the relative size of the old city's black community has been an increase in the percentage of students whose family incomes stand at or below poverty levels. During the 1966-67 school year, 26 percent of the students in the district were recipients of welfare or were from families with incomes below $3,000; the percentage of poverty level students within a given school ranged from 5 to 56 percent. In contrast, during the 1976-77 school year, 68 percent of the students in the original school district were from poverty level families, with a range across schools of 11 to 97 percent. No data were available that would enable us to break out these figures by race.

The controlling body of the Chattanooga Public School District is the seven-member Board of Education, headed by the Commissioner of Education and Health. Although the Commissioner is elected by popular vote (as noted previously), the other members of the board are elected by sitting board members. When terms expire or vacancies otherwise arise, the Board appoints a committee of citizens to scan the community for potential replacements. Final selection is made by vote of the full board, and approved by the elected City Commission.

During recent years the board has typically been composed of four whites and three blacks; currently, the composition is two blacks (including the Commissioner), and five whites. Three members of the board currently have children in Chattanooga Public Schools; other board members have no school age children.

III. THE PROCESS OF DESEGREGATION

Early Desegregation Efforts (1955-1962)

The Chattanooga Board of Education's first policy statement on desegregation was issued on July 22, 1955, less than two months after the Supreme Court's final ruling on the Brown case. This statement expressed the Board's intent to voluntarily comply with the high court's decision, noting, however, that "the Supreme Court decision does not require immediate and complete integration. Your School Board does not contemplate any immediate change in the operation of our schools."

Following this policy statement, the Board appointed a bi-racial advisory committee to study the problems associated with desegregating the Chattanooga schools and to recommend initial steps. The committee's first meeting, however, was disrupted by tear gas hurled through the window of the Board of Education conference room. Concerned by the intensity of community opposition to desegregation the tear gas seemed to indicate, the Board disbanded the committee and began a period called "elucidation" (making the problem clear), allowed by the Brown guidelines. During this period private meetings were held by the Board with various individuals and community groups to assess possible future desegregation measures. One result of these meetings was another policy statement issued in March, 1956:

> Events in the last year have convinced the Chattanooga Board of Education that the community will not accept any form of integration within the city schools at any time within the near future. We, therefore, take this opportunity to report to the community our decision to postpone any change in the public schools for a period of at least a few years--probably five years or more.

During the next several years, violence occurred in neighboring communities as desegregated schools opened; the Chattanooga Board issued annual policy statements on desegregation, each reflecting an increasingly pessimistic view of the possibility of desegregating the Chattanooga schools within the foreseeable future. Private meetings continued to be held, as the emotional climate at the time was thought to preclude public meetings.

As the tempo of the civil rights movement in the south accelerated in the early 1960's, members of Chattanooga's black population became assertive. In February, 1960, a small group of students from Chattanooga's black high schools staged a sit-in at a downtown lunch counter, which promptly closed. The next day, police were on hand when about 200 black students appeared at the lunch counter, but there was little disturbance. On the following day, however, a larger number of white students entered the contest for seats at the lunch counter. Police deployed fire hoses and quickly ended the demonstration. As one school district administrator saw it, "this unhappy incident probably can be held responsible for the Board's continuing delay in mobilizing community support for the [desegregation] tasks ahead."

In the meantime, mounting pressures for integration from the NAACP forced the Board to take an even firmer stand on the amount of time needed to prepare for desegregation. A policy statement issued in March, 1960, stated that it would be "premature and detrimental" to take any steps whatsoever until desegregation-related tension in the community could be reduced.

A short time later, a black Chattanooga citizen and chairman of the local NAACP branch, James Jonathan Mapp, petitioned the Board of Education to permit his children to register at schools attended exclusively by whites. When this petition was denied, Mapp et al, supported by the NAACP, filed a class action suit in federal district court on April 6, 1960.

The lawsuit sought a permanent injunction directing the Superintendent and the Chattanooga Board of Education to desegregate the city school system. Two months later, on June 7, 1960, the defendants filed an answer, asserting that their program of elucidation and public education "constituted appropriate speed and progress toward eventual desegregation." On October 21, 1960, however, the federal judge ordered the defendants to submit a desegregation plan, stating that continued elucidation several years after the Brown decision "is not a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance."

The plan that was developed and submitted to the court in December, 1960, appears to have been primarily the work of district officials and school board members:

> The Board's plan of desegregation as submitted was developed through careful analysis and with full participation by the Board and its administrative staff, including its principals. It represents the sum total of the experience, judgment, intelligence, training and wisdom of the system's professional leadership and the lay educational leadership as represented by the Board members.

There was little evidence that either black or white community residents were involved in the planning and decision-making process.

In essence, the plan called for the desegregation of grades one to three in unidentified schools to be selected by the Board of Education at a later date. Desegregation was to proceed in these schools at the rate of an additional grade each year; plans for desegregating the remainder of Chattanooga's schools were to be devised sometime in the future.

In January, 1961, the federal judge rejected the desegregation plan as submitted and ordered the defendants to submit a second plan within 60 days. Maintaining that it had never been given an opportunity to explain its plan, the Board appealed its case to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth District. In November, 1961, the appeals court affirmed the trial court's decision and remanded the case for further proceedings.

Left with no other alternative, the Board of Education submitted two amendments to its initial plan. The first, filed on January 5, 1962, actually designated 16 specific elementary schools as those selected for the desegregation of the first three grades beginning in September, 1962. This amendment also provided for desegregation of the remaining 18 elementary schools, grades one to four, in September, 1963. The second amendment, filed ten days later, further modified the first plan by providing that in the third year of the plan, 1964, desegregation would proceed at a grade a year in all schools beginning with the fifth grade, and ending in 1971 with the desegregation of the 12th grade.

In the meantime, the NAACP had been drafting its own plan for desegregating the Chattanooga public schools. In December, 1961, the NAACP plaintiffs had filed a proposed alternative plan calling for the desegregation of all public schools in the Chattanooga system starting in the fall of 1962. The NAACP plan also asked for the establishment of an attendance zone for each school and a provision for assignment of school district personnel with regard to race.

The two district plan amendments and the NAACP plan were both still under consideration in February, 1962, when extensive hearings were held in federal district court. The issue before the court was determination of whether the Board's amended plans constituted a "prompt and reasonable start toward full desegregation." Extensive testimony was given by the superintendent explaining why speedier desegregation was not feasible; among the reasons given were financial problems, lack of public leadership, inability of law enforcement officials to cope with potential problems, and time required to prepare attitudes of teachers, pupils, and parents. The superintendent stated that his staff was inadequate to meet the administrative problems caused by immediate and total desegregation, but could cope with whatever problems arose if a more gradual approach were followed. Plaintiffs countered that public opposition to desegregation constituted no legal basis for delay in enforcing constitutional rights.

On March 1, 1962, the court accepted the district's amended plans for gradual desegregation:

> From a consideration of all of the testimony and the record in this case, the Court is of the opinion that the defendants have carried the burden of establishing that additional time is needed to accomplish full and complete desegregation of the Chattanooga Public Schools. Furthermore, it is believed by the Court that the record supports a finding that the defendants' request for time is made in good faith and in contemplation of full compliance.

Implementing the Plan (1962-1970)

In December, 1961, ten months before the desegregation plan was to go into effect, the Mayor of Chattanooga created a citizen's committee to assist in desegregation planning. This action was taken at the request of a group of Chattanooga residents who were concerned that not enough was being done by the Board of Education to prepare for desegregation. Members of the committee included elected officials of both city and county government, superintendents of the city and county school systems, the city's information officer, a public relations consultant, three attorneys, and four business executives.

The committee first enlisted the support of the local media, major business and industrial leaders, and the clergy. From these groups volunteer speakers and discussion leaders were secured to speak to community groups. Television announcements were also made, featuring appeals for cooperation from parents of children in each of the white schools scheduled for desegregation, as well as from leaders in the public, civic, business, and religious sectors of Chattanooga.

School district personnel met with PTA members in the schools to be desegregated to clarify aspects of the plan. The superintendent and one assistant met with groups of student leaders from each of the 15 junior and senior high schools to discuss the potential influence of adolescents on the younger children who would be moving to newly desegregated schools. District principals were organized into small groups to engage in brainstorming sessions regarding solutions to problems affecting their individual communities. An address by the superintendent and two days of in-service training constituted the extent of preparation offered to the teachers.

On the opening day of school in September, 1962, cooperating groups (police, school personnel, Citizens Committee members) were prepared for disruption. But 46 black students entered sixteen white elementary schools without incident. District enrollment of white students declined by 352 that year, however.

In the ensuing years, as desegregation was phased in gradually in a successively greater number of schools at successively higher grade levels, white student enrollment continued to decline. Nearly 1,000 white students left the district between 1961 and 1966. Otherwise, progress in school desegregation proceeded more or less according to schedule. In its fifth compliance report, submitted to the federal court in 1966, the Board of Education presented the following summary:

Enrollment Status	Number of Schools	Number of Students Enrolled
Bi-racial Enrollment	27	15,531
All White Enrollment	7	3,466
All Negro Enrollment	10	8,166
Total	44	27,163

As the table indicates, 27 of Chattanooga's 44 schools had bi-racial enrollment; 57 percent of the district's students attended bi-racial schools. Prior to desegregation, in the base school year 1961-62, only 11 of the district's schools had been bi-racial, and these were predominantly white schools in which the number of minority students had ranged from one to eight.

With the opening of school on August 30, 1966, the final step in the original plan was implemented: desegregation of grades eight through twelve. Zoning restrictions were removed from the two formerly black high schools and all five high schools were opened to students of both races. This freedom-of-choice enrollment plan, it was hoped, would lead to significant changes in enrollment patterns. A black community leader recalled his experiences at one of the all-black schools at the time:

> We students were pretty excited about the prospect of having white students come to our school. We wanted to be sure and do things right so we formed welcome committees, get-acquainted parties with chaperones and all the rest. But of course it was wasted effort, because the white students never did show up.

In the next three years only one white student enrolled at a black high school. The situation was different at Chattanooga's two predominantly white schools; at one, the number of black students increased from

26 in 1966 to 170 in 1969; at the other, the number rose from 35 to 66. The city's only vocational high school enrolled its first black student in 1966; in 1969, 64 black students were enrolled.

During this period of time (1966-1969), however, racial tension and hostility increased in the secondary school campuses. The most severe racial conflict erupted at one of the formerly all white high schools in 1969-70. The problem centered on black students' resentment of the school's use of the name "Rebels," the choice of Dixie as the school song, and the Confederate flag symbols worn by the school band. There were also complaints about exclusionary school clubs and racial discrimination by teachers. The situation became increasingly tense and the police became involved. A series of violent rock and glass-throwing encounters between several hundred white and black students led to the closing of the school for a period of several days. Later, a panel of community and school personnel came up with a set of recommendations that helped to reestablish order in the school: The band was not to play Dixie; the confederate symbol was to be removed; and the club membership was to be opened up. Tension remained high, however, as whites resented the destruction of their symbols and blacks continued to feel denigrated.

Late in 1969, discouraged with the results of the city's desegregation effort, the original NAACP plaintiffs filed another complaint in the federal district court charging that neither the desegregation of most schools nor the desegregation of faculty and staff was satisfactory. This complaint ultimately led to the development of a second major desegregation plan.

The Second Desegregation Plan (1971 to the present)

In 1970-71, racial tension persisted in the schools, and conflicts erupted spasmodically during the second series of court sessions. In the middle of the turmoil, the superintendent resigned, saying his effectiveness had been destroyed. A local principal, born and raised in Chattanooga, replaced him.

Following the 1971 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of Swann vs. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education, busing to achieve racial balance became an issue in Chattanooga. By this time, it was obvious that the effort to substantially change the racial composition of the district's black high schools through freedom-of-choice enrollment had failed.

On May 19, 1971, the federal district judge directed the school district defendants to submit an amended desegregation plan in accordance with appellate court decisions and the Swann decision. On June 16, 1971, the Board of Education submitted its final plan, making clear, however, that the plan "assumes and is conditioned upon receiving adequate funding to provide whatever transportation is required by the plan as finally approved."

On August 5, 1971, the district judge approved the plan, but gave only tentative approval to a plan for the high schools which provided for delayed implementation of plan segments requiring transportation. This ruling established the structure for a two-phase desegregation plan in Chattanooga. Phase I began in 1971, Phase II in January of 1974.

Phase I (1971-1974)

Phase I of the newly approved plan provided for the reorganization of selected elementary schools (grades 1-6) by pairing and clustering zones, which had the effect of organizing two or three schools to serve grades 1-3 or grades 4-6 separately. Buses already on hand took pupils to the appropriate schools.

Phase I also established four of the senior high schools as zoned schools and one, the vocational school, as open-zoned. This re-zoning effectively provided racially mixed student bodies in the three previously white high schools, as the black student body at these schools more than doubled. But enrollments in the two previously black schools remained substantially black, despite the fact that 400 whites in the 10th, 11th and 12th grades lived in the zone of one of the schools, and 353 whites lived in the zone of the other.

Four months after the federal court ruling, in December, 1971, plaintiffs asked the court to order full integration of all city schools "without any further delay based on lack of transportation facilities." The motion that was presented also asked that the city be made a defendant to the suit and be ordered to provide transportation funds. The motion was granted, and on May 23, 1972, the Board of Education put in a $250,000 order for 26 buses to implement its full desegregation plan in September, 1972. Before the purchase order could be filled, however, President Nixon signed the Education Amendments of 1972, which put into effect a provision permitting postponement of transportation for racial balance until exhaustion of all appeals, or until January 1, 1974. On the basis of this provision the board cancelled its order for school buses, and the district court granted a postponement of all transportation-related measures until January 1, 1974.

During the 1971-72 school year, the district lost a total of 3,190 students, 2,941 of them white. This led the Board of Education to petition the court in July, 1972, that it not be required to proceed further with desegregation. The motion was denied. In the fall of 1973 the Board again submitted evidence to the court of the substantial decline in white enrollment, argued that such changed conditions rendered its court-approved plan inadequate, and demanded time to draft a new one. Essentially, the Board's new plan proposed to revise the former plan to maintain a majority of 60-80 percent white students in formerly white schools and to increase the number of substantially all-black schools.

After hearing seven days of testimony the federal judge denied the motion, stating that the Board's entire position was based upon a mistaken legal premise:

> The "mixing" of races is not the constitutional mandate. The constitutional mandate is the equal protection of the law...The court is not unsympathetic to the concern expressed by the Board for minimizing the voluntary departure of white students from the system. It must be apparent, however, that this objective cannot serve as a limiting factor on the constitutional requirement of equal protection of the laws, nor as a justification to retaining _de jure_ segregation. Concern over "white flight" cannot become the higher value at the expense of rendering equal protection of the laws the lower value.

At the same time, the judge accepted the district's evidence demonstrating that changed demographic conditions within the city and other _de facto_ conditions beyond the control and responsibility of the Board of Education had become causative factors in the racial composition of the two black high schools. The effect of this action was to allow the racial composition of the high schools to stand. The judge further ordered, however, that the full desegregation plan approved in August 1971 be put into effect in January of 1974. Plaintiffs immediately appealed the ruling to the appellate court.

Phase II: January 1974 to the present

The second phase of the plan went into effect on January 28, 1974. It provided for busing large numbers of students between elementary schools, rezoning all junior high schools, closing several schools, and transferring large numbers of teachers. Eleven additional buses were put into service and existing bus routes were extended.

Pro-desegregationist Chattanoogans were proud that the schools went through the entire 1973-74 school year with no major violent outbreaks. The general impression created that year was that whites and blacks were learning how to get along with each other better, and that conditions in the Chattanooga schools were stabilizing.

A major problem continued to impede the desegregation process, however: White students continued to refuse to enroll in the two black high schools. Despite all efforts, in 1974 only five white students had enrolled at one school, and four at the other. Furthermore, white enrollments continued to decline: Between the closing of school in June, 1974, and the opening of school in September, 1974, an additional 1,569 white students left the district.

The spring of 1975 found both plaintiffs and defendants again in the courts. The plaintiffs argued anew that the graduated plan was too slow and that predominantly white county areas newly annexed to the city should be added to the plan; the school district defendants claimed that if desegregation were speeded up and the newly annexed areas added to the plan, the quality of education would suffer. The district judge, stating that it was "appropriate to bring this litigation to an end," denied plaintiffs request that a new desegregation plan be developed for the Chattanooga public schools. Plaintiffs appealed.

In January 1976, the Board of Education authorized its lawyers to seek U.S. Supreme Court review of the new case while it was still before the U.S. 6th Circuit Court of Appeals. This unusual legal procedure would have permitted the Supreme Court to rule on the new case at the same time as it was ruling on an earlier appeal. On July 1, 1976, the Supreme Court declined to review the lower court rulings.

At the close of the next school year, in June 1977, the district administration announced plans to close one of the black high schools. Following this announcement a regular meeting of the school board was picketed. The target of the picketing was the sole black member of the Board, and the charge leveled against him was that he had failed to represent blacks in their fight to maintain the virtually all-black school. One suggestion offered by the picketers was that the board redraw the school's boundaries so as to increase enrollment and funding.

Shortly thereafter, the entire student body of the high school boycotted classes to protest the proposed closing of their school. Later, a coalition of students and PTA members was formed, and a statement from the student council was issued, which read in part:

> In our short lifetimes, we, students [of this school] have run the complete cycle--from neighborhood schools to busing, to pairing and exchange of students between schools--and now this.
>
> We are tired of being shuffled, uprooted and transplanted. We cannot understand why all the upheaval consistently occurs within the black community.

The superintendent responded to the statement in an address to the student body, explaining that the problem was that white students zoned to go to the school would not comply. As he said, "There's no way to get the whites to come in here unless they want to." But the student council deemed it "a slap in the face to the children" for the superintendent to suggest that whites could not be forced to enter their school while black students could be forced to leave it.

At the present time (Fall, 1977) the issue of closing this black high school remains unresolved. The Board of Education has delayed a decision on this matter for at least another year, during which time further studies will be made to determine which high schools students can be assigned to if the black high school is closed. School district officials hope that the one-year reprieve will alleviate some of the opposition generated by the prospective closing.

Perceptions of the Desegregation Process

Chattanooga's desegregation efforts have spanned two decades, beginning in 1955 with the Board of Education's public announcement that it intended to desegregate the city school system. Most district administrators say that a significant amount of progress has been made since that early period when anti-desegregation sentiment in the community ran so high that it was believed no overt action toward desegregating the schools could be made. They also note that, despite some periods of racial conflict, the process of desegregation has been primarily non-violent.

Numerous factors are cited as having contributed to the relatively peaceful desegregation process in Chattanooga. For one, whatever resistance might have come from white power groups was apparently dissipated by the strong local tradition of private school enrollment. Because of the private school option, whites who might have taken a stronger stand were not affected by the problems of desegregation and remained aloof. Some feel that the court orders helped, too. "One principal reason that the white community acquiesced was that they were convinced that this Board did represent and did consider their points of view, but had no other choice [than to obey the court]." District administrators believe that the open lines of communication they maintained with all segments of the school and community were helpful. It was pointed out that having a superintendent who was born and raised in Chattanooga has been a distinct advantage in relating to the community. Another important factor was the promotion of a former black high school principal as Assistant Superintendent: This man was able to serve as a bridge between the black and white communities.

Several reasons are offered for the lack of violence from the black community. One is the absence of aggressive black leadership; many of Chattanooga's black leaders, we were told, were trained in the nonviolent confrontation tactics of Martin Luther King. Other respondents suggested that complacency, intimidation, and defeatism among blacks also played important roles in the absence of violence. By way of explanation, several respondents noted that Chattanooga is generally considered to be rather old-fashioned in its attitudes and practices; "It's Tennessee's 'Old South' city," one said.

Although Chattanooga's desegregation efforts have been relatively peaceful, a number of problems and shortcomings are evident. For one, the process has been slow. District administrators have maintained that the slowness resulted primarily from white community resistance, especially in the earlier years of desegregation. Indeed, some respondents stated that without the strong district leadership that existed during the sixties even less progress would have been made.

In contrast, a number of community leaders of both races maintain that the major reason progress toward desegregation in Chattanooga has been so slow is that the Board of Education has never been committed to desegregation. One source stated that "from the beginning, the system has done only what it was told to do by the court and then just as little as it could do to get by."

A number of respondents also believed that the desegregation effort has suffered from district leaders' unwillingness to involve either the community or outside consultants. District administrators maintained, however, that they have involved the community in the desegregation process. The district's "doors are always open," they say, and they cite the Parent Advisory Committees (PACs) mandated by Title I of ESEA as providing important structures for citizen involvement in the desegregation process. Regarding the use of outside consultants, they say that "the community would not have tolerated them" and that, besides, the district "has better people locally for our needs."

Another problem in Chattanooga's desegregation effort has been the failure to desegregate the two black high schools. Several respondents maintain that the origin of this problem lies in the district's decision to establish a racial balance of 30 percent white and 70 percent black in the two schools, rather than the 50-50 balance proposed by a community group. (The total high school population at the time of this proposal was 48 percent white and 52 percent black.) The problem with the 30-70 balance was that white students did not want to attend a school where they would be badly outnumbered by blacks, so none showed up. If a 50-50 balance had been established, whites might have been more willing to enroll.

Overall, however, most respondents tend to feel that desegregation has been good for Chattanooga. Without desegregation blacks might not have made such advances as the attainment of high level positions in the city's police department, government, and industry. Many believe that the quality of education has improved, especially for blacks. Participation on school advisory councils has reportedly helped teach black parents how to stand up for their rights. Benefits to the white community are not as obvious, although some feel that Chattanooga's entrenched provincialism has been reduced by the desegregation experience.

Some black community leaders, however, tend to feel the same sense of discouragement about school desegregation process as they do about social and political progress in Chattanooga, generally. These individuals believe that black schools have tended to end up with poorer teachers and that a number of schools are resegregating.

A few blacks, however, see encouraging signs in the larger community that they hope indicate the future of school desegregation. One black community leader notes that an important event occurred recently when, for the first time in history, he and other black leaders joined white community leaders at a Chamber of Commerce weekend retreat. A central theme of the retreat was that although Chattanooga had a long way to go in correcting racial injustices, the process could be begun by setting community goals. One outgrowth of the meeting was the decision that the Chamber of Commerce would establish a bi-racial coalition to study and make recommendations on desegregation issues. Beginnings such as these encourage some leaders that Chattanooga is proceeding slowly but steadily toward integration.

IV FEDERAL LEGISLATED INVOLVEMENT IN DESEGREGATION

The United States Congress has enacted two major laws related to school desegregation that are currently in force:

1. The Civil Rights Act of 1964: The central provision of this act is Title VI, which prohibits racial discrimination by recipients of federal aid. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has assigned responsibility for the enforcement of that prohibition to the Office for Civil Rights (OCR). OCR's role includes both monitoring of and enforcing Title VI among federal aid recipients, including public elementary and secondary schools. Within recent years, OCR's purview has expanded to cover discrimination against women, limited-English-speaking students, the handicapped, and the aged, as well as racial discrimination. Title IV of the Civil Rights Act established a program of technical assistance and training for districts drawing up or implementing a required desegregation plan.

2. The Emergency School Aid Act of 1972: Through this act, the Congress provided for financial assistance to school districts (1) to meet special needs arising from school desegregation; (2) to encourage the voluntary reduction of minority group isolation in schools with substantial proportions of minority group students; and (3) to aid school children in overcoming the educational disadvantages of minority group isolation. ESAA funds may be used for a variety of purposes, including compensatory education, human relations, staff training, and community relations. They may not be used for busing. Until now, most ESAA funds have been used to support compensatory education efforts in desegregating schools.

The activities of these three programs (ESAA, CRA-Title IV, and OCR) in Chattanooga are the focus of this chapter.

The Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA)

Funding and Scope

Chattanooga began receiving Emergency School Aid funds in 1972, when the district received $403,738 under the Emergency School Assistance Program (ESAP), ESAA's predecessor. Since that time, ESAA Basic monies have been received annually, averaging about $875,000; ESAA Pilot programs have been funded for every year except the last (1977-78), for an average of slightly over $100,000; and one Non-Profit Organization (NPO) program was funded (in 1974-75) for $47,410. Thus, Chattanooga has received a total of

$5,093,212 in ESAA/ESAP funds. Table 1 displays the annual amounts received under each category of funds.

Proposal preparation for the Basic and Pilot programs each year has typically been the responsibility of the Director of Federal Programs and the Planning and Evaluation Services Director, with input from the ESAA Project Director and other local ESAA central administrative staff. Other district administrative staff have contributed sections on such areas as evaluation, human relations activities, and student involvement. Principal, teacher, student, and parent representatives also were able to provide some input through ESAA Advisory Committee meetings or in direct conversations with proposal coordinators.

The 1972-73 ESAP funds coincided with the first full school year following implementation of the 1971 court order. Reportedly because the ESAP proposal format was less specific than those for ESAA have come to be, and because the district itself was uncertain about its desegregation needs, these first funds were used to support a variety of activities in areas thought likely to need assistance. These persons ranged from zone and attendance monitors to student activity directors.

From 1973 to the present, ESAA Basic funds have supported compensatory mathematics and reading programs in seven to 11 elementary schools. Since 1974-75, a basic skills program has also been in operation at between seven and nine junior high schools.

Although the compensatory education focus is common among ESAA programs, Chattanooga's approach is different from many others in that the funds are used primarily to support resource teachers and paraprofessional aides rather than classroom teachers, with the former serving largely to train regular teachers to deal directly with the needs of low achievers. This approach was chosen because it was seen as a relatively inexpensive way of serving the needs of low achievers and because it avoided pulling low achievers out of the regular classrooms for long periods of time. Furthermore, to the extent that new skills are indeed imparted to regular classroom teachers, the program's effects may continue after ESAA funding is terminated.

Table 1

Chattanooga ESAP and ESAA Funds

	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78
ESAP:	$403,738	--	--	--	--	--
ESAA:						
Basic	--	$428,975	$1,019,883	$1,070,080	$840,021	$858,771
Pilot	--	149,509	91,408	92,850	90,567	0
NPO	--	0	47,410	0	0	0

The focus on basic skills appears to have been the result of several factors: First, the U.S.O.E. Region IV office in Atlanta encouraged districts to adopt this emphasis. Secondly, a needs assessment performed by the district indicated that wide disparties existed between achievement levels of black and white students. Thirdly, as has been noted previously, high level district administrators believe that race relations are best approached indirectly; thus it seems likely that they feel more comfortable with a skills-based program than with one more directly related to attitudes and human relations.

The closest the Chattanooga ESAA program has come to dealing with human relations was a program called "Student Involvement in Decision Making", which operated at the high school level from the fall of 1973 to spring, 1976. Funded originally under ESEA-Title III, the program was begun during the student unrest of the early seventies in response to racial conflict and to complaints of alienation from both black and white students. In general terms, the program involved the creation of biracial groups who participated in decision making on school affairs. In spite of the program's popularity, it was largely discontinued when ESAA funding was reduced beginning in 1976-77. Following the cutback, ESAA's involvement at the high school level was limited to supporting the publication of The Bridge, an inter-school, bi-racial student newspaper that had been previously sponsored by the ESAA NPO grant and by the Title IV General Assistance Center in Knoxville.

The ESAA Pilot program, funded for four school years from 1973 through 1977, involved training classroom social studies, mathematics, and language arts teachers to teach reading in the course of teaching substantive matters. The program operated in one predominantly black junior high school, where it was developed as a relatively inexpensive means of expanding the teaching focus on reading skills. The concept was ultimately adopted by the ESAA Basic program in other junior high schools. The Pilot program itself ceased to be funded after the 1976-77 school year because the city's recent annexation of county areas brought the proportion of white students in the district to more than 50 percent, thereby making the district ineligible for ESAA Pilot funds.

The final category of ESAA funds received by Chattanooga was the Non-Profit Organization (NPO) grant to the Panel of American Women (PAW) in 1974-75. One component of the program involved junior and senior high school students serving as tutors and informal counselors to elementary students. Another component was the initiation and sponsorship of The Bridge, mentioned above. Additionally, members of PAW visited various schools to hold discussion groups with students on desegregation-related issues. In general, the thrust of the program was to encourage and facilitate bi-racial interactions and understanding. The program did not receive funding after its first year.

Activities

At the elementary level, the ESAA project involves having ESAA resource teachers work with regular classroom teachers to diagnose student needs and develop lesson plans in reading and mathematics. The resource teachers--one at each participating school--work with classroom teachers both individually and in groups and provide special individual instruction to students who are having "unusual difficulty" with a particular skill. In addition to these responsibilities, the resource teacher also selects and distributes materials and equipment for instruction and for staff training. ESAA also provides for two to three paraprofessional aides in each participating school. Their activities include providing relief to classroom teachers during ESAA planning sessions, assisting teachers in the preparation of materials, and providing instructional assistance to students.

For students in the primary grades (K-3), the ESAA program includes a "parent instructional support" component. This component, which grew out of earlier efforts supported by Follow-Through, Title I, and Title III, is designed to facilitate parent involvement in the educational process. It involves the use of a set of parent/child activity cards that describe game-like activities parents can engage in with their children to aid in the development of language and mathematics skills. Each card focuses on a specific skill, so a teacher may select appropriate cards to send home with each child to reinforce current instructional topics. (The cards were originally developed by Dr. Ira Gordon at the University of Florida and were modified for use in Chattanooga by a group of district personnel.)

The ESAA program at the junior high level is similar to the one operating in the elementary schools in that each participating school is provided with a resource teacher and two to three aides who assist classroom teachers in developing and implementing lesson plans. In the junior high program, the focus is on building remedial reading into the existing pattern of course work. To do this, a program based on a continuing series of criterion referenced tests is used, with tests given every two to three weeks to assess individual needs and progress. During the interim periods, direct instruction is provided by the language arts teachers, the resource teachers, and the aides in the appropriate skill areas. Additionally, attention is given to selecting texts for other content areas with suitable readability levels and to providing high-interest/low-skill-level books and magazines for independent reading.

Target elementary and junior high schools for the ESAA program are those with racially mixed student populations, achievement scores that are, on the average, below grade level, and a disparity of achievement levels of black and white pupils. All of these schools have been affected by the desegregation plan, as required by ESAA regulations. Students eligible for ESAA assistance are, for the most part, those who are a specified distance below grade level in the relevant areas: Students in grades two, three, and four are required to be at least one-half year behind; those in grades five and six must be one year or more behind; seventh and eighth graders must be at least two years behind; and a lag of at least three years is required for ninth graders. All children in kindergarten and first grade in participating schools take part in the ESAA program.

The original ESAA program at the senior high level, Student Involvement in Decision Making, operated under ESAA for three years, from 1973-74 through 1975-76. Under this program, the position of student activity director was established in each high school, staffed by adults who were selected for their good rapport with students. The directors oversaw all student activities, including a variety of student committees specially formed to deal with such matter as academic concerns, race relations, school discipline, and extracurricular activities. All committees were integrated and operated under a problem-solving model. Committee members also attended inter-school leadership conferences. Thus, through both the

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committees and the conferences, the program provided a forum for bi-racial interactions.

When the program was begun in 1971 with Title III support, it operated in all five of the district's high schools. Transfer of sponsorship to ESAA in 1973 meant that the program had to be limited to three high schools, because the two black high schools have not been included in the desegregation plan since the district judge ruled in 1973 that the racial composition of these two schools was due to factors beyond the control of the Board of Education. (See p. 18.) Then, when ESAA funding decreased following the 1975-76 school year, local funds supported a still more limited version. Currently, only one high school has even a remnant of the original program.

For the past two years, 1976-77 and 1977-78, ESAA has supported The Bridge. During the first of these years, sponsorship was shared with the Title IV General Assistance Center in Knoxville. Currently, ESAA provides sole support, which includes the salary for a consultant editor/coordinator and operating supplies necessary for the paper's production. Student participants include about 15 students from each of the districts' three racially mixed high schools. Students in the ESAA junior high schools also occasionally serve as reporters, and other students participate through opinion pools, which are used for news input. The paper publicizes school activities, describes such programs as ESAA and Title I, and discusses issues that are of interest to the students--including such topics as drugs, abortion, grading, the advantages of public versus private schools, and desegregation. While the paper does provide opportunities for bi-racial interaction among those students who staff it, its purpose is more commonly seen as the dissemination of the public education viewpoint. As one respondent noted, "It has given people a chance to see that the schools haven't gone to the dogs." The paper is published monthly and distributed to over 20,000 parents, city school employees, and members of various civic and school support groups.

Administration and Staffing

Although the ESAA program has one formally titled "Program Director", in practice this person directs only the Junior and Senior high school programs. The elementary program is directed by a second person. This structure was established because it was felt that the ESAA elementary program and Title I should be under one person, as these two programs are essentially the same in Chattanooga. Both directors report to the Director of Federal Programs, who in turn reports to an assistant superintendent. It is these last two persons who are primarily responsible for overall program scope and content, while the ESAA directors' responsibility lies in the day-to-day program administration.

Directly below the program directors are two program specialists, one for the elementary program and one for the junior high program, and the coordinator of The Bridge. The program specialists coordinate and supervise the ESAA resource teachers, provide materials, and work directly with regular classroom teachers and ESAA students. Considerable similarity reportedly exists in ESAA program activities from school to school.

ESAA resource teachers are recommended for their positions by the building principals, usually for their superior teaching ability. Uncertainty in the early years of the program about continued funding evidently made some principals reluctant to recommend their best teachers for fear they would be lost if funding were discontinued. But as funding has in fact continued, this reluctance seems to have been overcome, and the few turnovers that have occurred have reportedly resulted in excellent replacements. Several respondents felt that some of the resource teachers were not very effective in the classroom, but the consensus seems to be that most are at least above average. Good teachers are attracted to the program partly because the resource teacher position is considered by many to be an administrative position and therefore a promotion from classroom teaching. Resource teachers also receive $30 more per month than do classroom teachers, and they are promised their old position back should ESAA funding be discontinued. Thus, there is relatively little insecurity in the position.

Student, Parent, and Community Involvement

In addition to their involvement with ESAA through The Bridge or (at junior high level) through participation in the ESAA academic program, junior and senior high school students are involved with ESAA through participation in the mandated ESAA Student Advisory Committees. In most schools, members of these committees are chosen by the student council and generally are seen as student leaders.

While some respondents felt that these committees have been actively involved with ESAA, others felt that they are not as strong as they might be, particularly in the junior high schools. One respondent noted that some SAC activities, such as making recommendations on instructional materials and curriculum seemed to be too sophisticated a task for these younger children.

Parents are involved with ESAA through use of the parent/child activity cards that are part of the ESAA reading and mathematics program in Kindergarten through third grade. In addition to providing guidance to parents on helping their children with specific skills, these activity cards also serve the purposes of making the parents aware of what their children are doing at school and creating a sense of parent involvement with the schools. Additionally, about once a year, parent conferences are held to discuss the activity cards and to help participants develop "parenting" skills.

Parents are also represented, along with other members of the community, on the ESAA Advisory Committee. The committee is comprised of 42 members--by mandate, 21 blacks and 21 whites. Three of the members are federal program administrators in the district (for Follow-Through, CRA-Title IV, and Head Start), one is the coordinator for The Bridge (serving as a representative for the League of Women Voters), at least one is an ESAA resource teacher (serving as a parent representative), and several are ESAA aides. One of these "dual-role" members noted that she felt such memberships are inappropriate because of potential conflict of interest.

We were told that about 10 to 12 voting members usually attend the monthly meetings, along with a number of ESAA staff persons. Minutes indicate that topics of the meetings have included projects, review of the status of the annual proposal, and discussions of the budget.

On occasion the committee's input has led to some minor changes in the proposals, but committee members themselves expressed a desire for greater influence over project activities, noting that although they may make recommendations, the district administration makes all the decisions. For their part, district spokepersons described the committee as "very active" and as a "concerned, cooperative group with active leadership."

Communication

Respondents felt that ESAA staff members generally have a good understanding of ESAA and know what is expected of them. The continuity in staff and program content has been a definite asset in this regard. Also, all staff have received considerable training, both at the beginning of the program and in continuing workshops and regularly scheduled meetings. Some respondents, however, expressed a desire for more communication with others in their position--e.g., other resource teachers--and greater direction from the program specialist.

Principals with whom we talked also felt they have a good understanding of the ESAA program and that the ESAA staff communicate well with them. Again, the continuity in staff and focus has facilitated this sense of understanding.

Communication with parents and the community about ESAA takes place through articles in The Bridge, letters to parents of ESAA students, and occasional presentations to the PTA. Respondents generally believed that parents are aware of the existence of ESAA as a federal aid program, but some felt that the program's link to desegregation was not generally communicated and may not be widely known.

Partly because the district is relatively small, there is daily communication among ESAA administrators and other district administrators. Also, as noted previously, representatives of Follow Through, Head Start, and Title IV serve on the ESAA Advisory Committee. Because of the teacher-training approach used in the elementary and junior high components, the ESAA program is inherently integrated with the over-all Chattanooga instructional program. The involvement of locally funded regular classroom teachers in the ESAA program also means that ESAA involves far more staff in its program than its funding level would suggest.

The relationship with the regional OE staff in Atlanta is felt by district administrators to be "very good." One respondent stated that, in recent years, there were fairly frequent interactions with the regional office, mostly through the federal projects director, and that the district had "the kind of relations (with the regional office) that we could just pick up the phone and call." The regional office has frequently provided the district with technical assistance and input about program focus. In light of this close relationship between the district and the regional office, it is not surprising that a number of district administrators voiced their concerns and regret about the dismantling of the regional office and its move to Washington.

Perceptions of the ESAA Program

Overall, ESAA is a popular program in Chattanooga. "ESAA has enabled us to maintain educational quality in the basics throughout desegregation," one respondent claimed. Another said, "Without ESAA, nothing would have been done." And from a third, "ESAA has made desegregation easier through its funds and the people it has provided."

The compensatory education component in the elementary and junior high schools was seen to have benefited students in the areas of achievement, self-concept, and bi-racial interactions. In achievement, district evaluation staff reported that the average gain among ESAA students during the past year was slightly more than one year. (That is, the average American child would require slightly more than one year to learn what the Chattanooga ESAA children learned in one year.) They characterized this gain as "quite remarkable." A high school principal noted that he "can see ESAA's impact" on junior high students as they come to high school.

In the area of self-concept, the ESAA program was seen as helping to give disadvantaged children "a sense of pride" through the extra assistance provided by the aides and resource teachers. Along the same lines, a teacher argued that the "individual, in-depth attention and the constant tracking system" used in the ESAA program are "very important" in helping children develop a positive self-concept. Bi-racial interactions and understanding are felt to be likewise facilitated by the small student groups made possible through ESAA.

In the eyes of our respondents, teachers, too, have benefitted from the ESAA compensatory education component. These benefits are derived from the training teachers have received, from the classroom assistance by the ESAA aides and resource teachers, and from ESAA's bi-racial staffing. From the training, teachers have acquired better teaching skills and a sensitivity to individual differences. One respondent said, "The topic [of training] was reading and math, but the spinoff was sensitivity." Another claimed that "if ESAA leaves tomorrow, it will leave behind people who are better teachers because of the program." The classroom assistance has enabled teachers to spend more time with each child and thus to look more closely at individual needs. Through this process and through the bi-racial staffing, ESAA helped to break down racial barriers and open up bi-racial interactions among teachers and between teachers and students. Yet another positive outcome was noted by a building principal: "Before ESAA, teachers were more possessive of their ideas; but now the resource teacher works with classroom teachers in a group; this promotes real sharing of ideas."

Respondents were also enthusiastic about the parent/child activity cards. A resource teacher described them as "fabulous" and claimed that "they make parents aware of what is happening in school and of how they can help." Similarly, a principal maintained, "They have made a real difference in parent interest and involvement."

The ESAA-supported student newspaper, The Bridge, and the earlier student involvement program in the high schools were also viewed with enthusiasm. An administrator recalled that the common problem solving that was a part of student involvement program "helped create mutual respect and opened up communication bewteen the two races." Similarly, The Bridge has provided an avenue for communication between the schools and the community. In the view of one administrator, "It has been a really positive influence; it helps people see the good things that are happening in the schools and see that blacks and whites can work together."

The combined effect of ESAA's contributions has reportedly been to make people in both the schools and the community more accepting of desegregation. In the words of one respondent, "They can see that they are getting things now that they didn't have before desegregation; they can see that desegregation has positive aspects."

Although perceptions of the local program were generally positive, some negative comments were heard. Generally, these fell into two categories: materials and program focus. Several respondents felt that the choice of materials was sometimes not as wise as it might have been, and that the central office selected the materials with no input from either resource or classroom teachers. Consequently, it was claimed, some of the materials were rarely or never used.

The subject of program focus brought to light an interesting difference of opinion among our respondents. A substantial number of people, including a few district administrators, school faculty members, and community spokespersons, expressed a desire for greater emphasis on human service areas such as human relations training, including parent, student, and community involvement. Many of these people argued that there has been consistently a great need for such activities and yet very little has been provided.

Reasons suggested for this omission were that the key decision-makers in the district administration are neither committed to nor comfortable with human relations activities and that the expertise necessary for such activities would have to come from outside consultants, whom the administrators find to be categorically unacceptable. For their part, many district administrators claim that human relations activities have been avoided because teachers don't want them; similarly, they claim, outside consultants have not been used because the community did not want them and because the district has better people locally to meet local needs.

Another area of discussion about the local program was what would happen if and when ESAA funds were terminated. As noted above, some felt that the training provided by the resource teachers would have a lasting impact, that the improvement in teaching skills would endure. A number of other respondents, however, seemed to disagree. Among this latter group, several argued that there would be little lasting impact because the key component of the program was the added manpower provided through the aides and resource teachers. The implication here was that even though classroom teachers may have learned new skills, they would not be able to make much use of them once they were on their own again in the classroom. Others argued that "the whole thing would fall apart" if funding stopped not only because of the lost manpower but also because, without the active presence of the resource teachers, the classroom teachers would quickly slip back into their old methods. Thus, while Chattanooga's approach to compensatory education is undoubtedly more economical than the more traditional approach of directly supporting compensatory education teachers, its hoped-for advantage of having a substantial lasting impact may not be realized.

While most respondents had a good deal to say about the local program, they had relatively little to say about the national ESAA program, except that they dislike the one-year funding cycle. Reasons given for this dislike were that annual proposal writing is costly and disruptive of project activities, and that single-year grants prohibit long-range planning and lead to staff insecurity.

Among other comments about the national program were the following:

- The current method of allocating funds among states, whereby the amount allocated to a state is independent of the number of eligible districts, creates a "very chancey" situation for the districts. This happens because the amount one district receives is dependent partly on what other districts are eligible. Thus, if a previously ineligible district becomes eligible, other districts may well find their funding level suddenly substantially reduced. This possibility (combined with single-year funding) makes long-term planning more difficult.

- The July grant notification date creates problems with staff hiring because the district requires that teachers be notified in April of their position during the subsequent year.

- Loss of ESAA Pilot funding was unfortunate. The effect of this loss has been that the two black high schools, which are not included in the current desegregation plan, are no longer eligible for any ESAA funds even though they are among the most needy.

- Although compensatory education probably should not be disallowed under ESAA, human relations activities should be more strongly encouraged.

- A problem with ESAA funding compensatory education is that people are worried about what will happen to needy children when funding is terminated.

- The ESAA Advisory Committee should be given greater decision-making power. Currently, although the committee has input and assists with proposal writing, it is the district administrators who make the decisions.

- ESAA application (proposal) and monitoring forms are specific and to the point. They are "much better" than those for other programs, such as Title I.

- ESAA monitoring has been "effective" and "adequate," and the monitors are "very helpful." "They have done their job and have made us feel good about it."

In summary, Chattanoogans are generally happy with both the national ESAA program and with the district's use of ESAA funds. They feel the program has contributed to the success of their desegregation effort, and they hope they will continue to be funded. The only areas of widespread discontent are the single-year funding, and the lack of human relations activities involving widespread student, parent, and community participation.

CRA-Title IV

The Chattanooga school district has a long history of involvement with Title IV funding, both through directly-funded LEA grants and through the Title IV General Assistance Center at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville. The district received Title IV LEA grants continuously from January 1964 through June 1969 and again from fiscal year 1975 through the present. In total, the district has received $694,687 from the federal government in direct Title IV LEA grants since 1965. The technical assistance services of the GAC in Knoxville have been relied upon by the district consistently over the past 12 years. The following discussion focuses first on projects funded through LEA grants and then turns to the district's relationship with the GAC in Knoxville.

LEA Grants

The Chattanooga school district was one of the first in the nation to receive a Title IV LEA grant after the Civil Rights Act was passed in 1964. The history of the district's Title IV grants can be divided into two periods. During the first period, 1965-1969, Title IV activities focused on training teachers to work in newly desegregated settings. Grants during this period tended to be rather large ($149,726 in 1965-66; $170,393 in 1967-68; $177,256 in 1968-69; with a low figure of $65,860 in 1969-70). At that time, Title IV was the only federal assistance available to aid the district in desegregation. Between 1970 and 1975 the district did not receive any Title IV funding.

During the second period of funding, 1975 to the present, Title IV activities have focused on increasing parent involvement in the schools and helping administrators to handle school discipline problems. Grants awarded to the district during this period have tended to be relatively small ($40,000 in 1975-76, $44,000 in 1976-77, and $47,452 in 1977-78), paying primarily for services of a desegregation specialist.

Title IV proposals have been written by district evaluation specialists, federal project officers and, in the current phase of funding, the desegregation specialist. All of the Title IV proposals have had the input of administrators at all levels in the district from the superintendent to building principals. There has also been considerable community input into the content of recent programs through committees of community representatives and the PTA. During both phases of funding, the EEOP regional office in Atlanta, provided considerable assistance to the district in formulating program plans.

Even with the low funding level of recent years and the constraints placed on its spending, Chattanooga administrators reported that they have been careful not to view Title IV funds as general aid to help the district pay for a position. Rather, the funds have been viewed as a means to mount cohesive and clearly definable projects which further the district's desegregation philosophy of working to draw people together without focusing directly on issues of race.

Early LEA Grants (1965-1969): The early Title IV grants received by the district between 1965 and 1969 were aimed primarily at helping white teachers cope with their newly integrated student population. The first Title IV program, in January-June 1965, was focused on educating teachers about the causes of prejudice, inter-ethnic group problems, cultural differences, and factors affecting differences in student achievement. A secondary goal was to provide teachers with assistance in developing instructional techniques, materials, and curricula that would be successful in desegregated classrooms.

These goals were to be realized through intensive workshops and training sessions led by outside consultants, as well as through the hiring of two black faculty counselors to help white staff members work with black students. Seventy-five teachers participated in the program, including the entire staff in one school and 50 teachers from other schools in the district. The project also funded a summer institute about the same topics for 100 teachers from Chattanooga and the surrounding area.

During the 1965-66 school year, the Title IV project was expanded to serve more than 140 teachers throughout the district. The goals of the project remained the same, but the emphasis was shifted from attitude change to teaching techniques and curriculum. Also, high school teachers were included in the project for the first time, in anticipation of the high school desegregation which was to occur in 1966.

Title IV money was used in 1966-67 to fund the district's first attempts at teacher desegregation. The objectives of the program that year were to organize and provide training for desegregated teaching teams, with emphasis on appropriate teaching techniques in desegregated classrooms. Thus, the district hoped to use team teaching as a tool both for improving the instructional program and for desegregating the staff. By so doing, administrators hoped to make such "conspicuous improvements" in the instructional program that white flight would be reduced. The project proposed the assignment of 197 teachers to desegregated teams in 16 schools, although subsequent records indicate that only 44 teachers were assigned across racial lines that year. During the following year (1967-68), the team teaching project was expanded to all but two schools in the system, and 127 teachers were assigned across racial lines.

During the 1968-69 school year, funding for the Title IV project was greatly reduced. The team teaching approach was abandoned, but many of the goals of the project were the same as those of the earlier Title IV projects. Thus, the program was aimed at: (1) improving teacher skills for working with students from different cultures and with differing achivement levels, and (2) providing human relations training to modify students', parents', teachers' attitudes towards integration and patterns of interracial interaction. These two goals were to be achieved through workshops, visits to exemplary programs, and the use of consultants. This program focused on one junior high school in an attempt to "develop a prototype of an integrated junior high school whose student and faculty composition will approximate racial balance and which will exemplify positive social interaction and personal involvement of the two races."

Between 1970 and 1975, the district did not receive Title IV assistance. There were a number of reasons for this gap in Title IV funding. First, the district felt that OE wanted to focus its assistance on districts which had not yet received Title IV funds. Secondly, grant awards had become increasingly competitive, and the district was denied funds on at least one occasion. Thirdly, with the influx of large amounts of ESAA money (beginning in 1972), the district may not have felt it was worth applying for the relatively small Title IV grants.

By 1975, however, the district was starting to explore additional funding sources and became interested in Title IV again. The district had made new contacts in the USOE regional office through the ESAA program, and had learned that Title IV funds might be available to them. So in 1975, Chattanooga decided to reapply for a Title IV grant.

Recent LEA grants (1975-1977): As noted earlier, the more recent Title IV grants have been much smaller than were grants received in the earlier phase of Title IV funding, and the activities funded differed from those funded in the earlier period. During the 1965-69 phase of funding, Title IV was the only desegregation program in the district and it tackled some of the district's most pressing desegregation problems. Beginning in 1972, however, the substantial ESAP/ESAA grants have led to that program's domination of central desegregation issues. Thus, Title IV programs have come to be seen as supplemental to the district's major desegregation efforts.

Title IV funds received since 1975 have been sufficient only to pay the salary of a desegregation specialist and to provide some secretarial support. In 1975-76 and 1976-77, the specialist was responsible for administering a program focused on parent involvement, primarily in schools that had been paired or clustered recently to achieve desegregation. In 1975-76, 30 schools out of a total of 52 participated in Title IV activities; in 1976-77, 35 schools participated.

The program's major function during these two years involved the formation of parent-teacher committees to engage in activities that might foster biracial interaction. One such activity was the production of school information handbooks and calendars. Title IV funds also helped develop the program of parent-child activity cards discussed in the section on ESAA. In addition, the desegregation specialist worked with principals who were to develop plans for parent involvement, and

Title IV funds were used to support ongoing parent and community involvement programs by providing transportation for parents to attend meetings. During 1976-77, the desegregation specialist was also responsible for informing schools about Title IX requirements for compliance and providing assistance in meeting them.

For the current school year (1977-78), the Title IV program is designed to assist secondary school administrators in resolving problems of school discipline. Since the district has been concerned about its high suspension rates, especially among black students, the program's focus is the development of alternative strategies for dealing with discipline problems. In the interest of improving race relations in the secondary schools, the program is also designed to develop alternatives to race-linked explanations of discipline problems and of other conflicts occurring in the schools.

The program involves having administrators at two secondary schools draw up case studies of incidents at their schools that are relevant to all secondary schools in the district. The two case study schools then receive direct assistance from district level specialists in coping with the problems inherent in the incidents, while the case studies themselves are used as the focus for inservice training sessions for administrators in other secondary schools. These sessions occur monthly throughout the year. The strategies and conclusions developed during these sessions will be shared with all district principals at both elementary and secondary levels. The activities of the program are guided by a "Task Force" composed primarily of district officials.

Interactions: Interactions between district personnel and the EEOP regional office concerning the early Title IV programs were positive, and the regional office was felt to be "supportive in every way possible." Because the regional officers became very knowledgable about Chattonooga's unique problems, they were well regarded by the district. They also established a communications network to identify solutions to desegregation-related problems available eleswhere that might be helpful to Chattanooga. Early Title IV involvement therefore gave the district a positive view of participation in federal programs.

Relations with the regional office regarding the recent Title IV funding period are also characterized by "excellent cooperation." The EEO program officer is seen as being particularly helpful in advising the district about what direction the Title IV program should take. Title IV staff are distressed about losing this excellent resource in the centralization of EEO regional staffs.

Within the district, interactions between the Title IV staff and other district-level administrators occur daily. The Title IV desegregation specialist reported that he attends weekly district meetings, and meets privately with the superintendent about once a month. Meetings with the federal projects officer and an assistant superintendent are more frequent.

Perceptions of the Title IV LEA Program:

Both the early group of the Title IV programs (1965-69) and the more recent ones (1975 to the present) were generally viewed favorably and were seen as having a positive impact on the commmunity's desegregation experience. Even the acts of preparing and submitting the initial proposal were felt by some to be beneficial: The planning sessions for this proposal, it was claimed, made participants aware of the wide scope of Chattannoga's desegregation problem; and submitting the proposal was seen as the district's first step toward publicly admitting the existence of major desegregation problems in Chattanooga. At least one respondent felt that the very act of applying to the federal government for assistance in desegregation also helped make the community more accepting of desegregation. In the South in the mid-1960s, "just the submission of an application set a tone for the district, namely a tone of promoting desegregation." This respondent felt that the community would have been much more hostile towards school desegregation had the district taken a more resistant stance toward federal desegregation assistance.

According to respondents in district administration, the major strength of the early Title IV programs was that they fostered interracial interactions about instructional matters rather than dealing directly with racial conflicts.

Similarly, these respondents like the recent Title IV programs because they reflect and reinforce the district's philosophy of approaching the problems of desegregation indirectly. The use of the Title IV funds to facilitate other district programs (such as ESAA) has also been popular with district administrators. Furthermore, the continuation of Title IV-originated activities by other funding sources is seen as evidence that Title IV has been a valuable catalyst.

According to a number of respondents, the Title IV projects have stimulated district activities on a larger scale than their funding level would suggest. For example, as respondents repeatedly pointed out, the current Title IV program, through its training activities and the Task Force that guides it, engages the time and attention of a large number of district personnel without reimbursing them; that is, district rather than Title IV funds pay for the time spent by district-level administrators working with the desegregation specialist. A number of administrators thus saw the program as a very economical use of federal funds. One interviewee argued at length,

> I could build a case that the smaller the budget, the more impact it has, dollar for dollar. A small project is more manageable. You really have to define the problem. Furthermore, small projects get more exposure, so that people have to be very productive, and you can't get lost in a crowd.

This respondent went on to distinguish between two types of projects:

> One is a service project (like ESAA) and the other is a type of project that is a catalyst. With a large project, or a large budget, you don't want to try exploratory ideas; there is too much money at stake. Title IV allows you to take high risks on exploratory ideas. If things work, then you can incorporate them into larger service programs. But if not, then you can drop the idea.

This argument was used to support the idea of having two desegregation projects in the district, one aimed at providing compensatory instruction and other basic services to support desegregation, and the other focused on creative but high risk activities.

A few administrators, however, felt that the Title IV program was so small it was almost not worth the effort involved in the annual proposal. In fact, one respondent believed the district would not apply for Title IV funds if it did not already have a large ongoing desegregation program funded by ESAA. This person felt Title IV funds were insufficient for a program to "stand on its own feet", although the program could survive as supplementary to ESAA. Some administrators tended to resent the use of district funds to support Title IV activities, feeling that the program should have enough money to pay its own way. Such sentiments have been given added force by the addition of women's rights to the program's areas of concern without a concomitant increase in funding.

There was also some difference of opinion about the one-year funding cycle. Some respondents felt that a longer funding cycle was more appropriate for the types of desegregation problems currently facing the district. As one respondent put it, "Second and third generation desegregation problems can't be solved quickly." Another respondent felt that longer funding cycles would improve staff stability. Still others argued that longer funding cycles would promote greater continuity in program content.

Nevertheless, at least one respondent felt "there is a place for one-year contracts." This person liked Title IV's one-years grants because they encouraged the district to experiment with innovations. If there were a three-year grant for Title IV programs, "we would just keeping doing the same things."

We heard numerous complaints about the current proposal submission and grant notification dates. These complaints arose largely because the district was not notified until July about the funding of this year's Title IV proposal, although the proposal was submitted early in the winter. The July notification meant that activities scheduled for late spring had to be postponed, thereby jeopardizing project evaluation plans and putting other project activities behind schedule.

Some respondents felt funding guidelines contained in the Title IV legislation are too rigid. One believed that the requirement of employing a desegregation specialist was too restrictive. Although this person valued the district's current desegregation specialist, he felt that the district should be able to use Title IV funds for other desegregation-related purposes as it saw fit.

Another problem with the program, as perceived by district personnel, was the incorporation of Title IX concerns (women's rights) into the responsibilities of the Title IV desegregation specialist. One respondent thought this to be inappropriate because "women do not have the same problems as blacks." Another respondent felt strongly that adding sex discrimination to the Title IV program made it take second place to integration: "If Title IX is worthwhile, it should be treated separately, funded separately, and have programs developed separately." This respondent felt that adding Title IX to the duties of the desegregation specialist without enlarging the program's funding was an empty and ineffective gesture.

Despite the problems raised by our respondents, the consensus was that Title IV LEA programs had been worthwhile. During the first phase of the funding, Title IV was at the forefront of desegregation in the district, and helped teachers of both races to work together. In the second (current) phase, the program was seen by most as being valuable in providing an arena in which to experiment with methods which might later be incorporated into large service programs like ESAA. There were many who felt that the program had been effective in changing the attitudes of teachers, parents, and principals by enabling people to know each other and work together. As one respondent put it: "It has helped to create a spirit of cooperation and understanding and a better feeling between the races."

Title IV General Assistance Center

In addition to receiving Title IV funds directly through LEA grants, the Chattanooga school district receives assistance from the Educational Opportunities Planning Center (EOPC) at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville. The EOPC is funded as a General Assistance Center (GAC) through CRA-Title IV.

EOPC began as a training institute in 1965, mandated to serve nine school districts, including Chattanooga. The Training Institute was funded in 1965, 1966, and 1973. Federal funding for the GAC began in 1966 and has continued through the present. Annual funding levels, as shown in Table 2, ranged from a low of $97,668 in 1967 to a high of $434,063 in 1977.

In its early years, the center served districts throughout the South because of a lack of coverage from other assistance centers. Currently, the GAC has a service area comprising 147 school districts in Tennessee and, since 1973, 181 districts in Kentucky. While the center has its main office in Knoxville, it maintains branch offices in Nashville and Louisville. EOPC currently has the equivalent of seven full-time staff members, four clerical staff members, and four part-time consultants, having grown from an original staff of three professionals and one secretary.

EOPC services have been directed at teachers, administrators and students. Staff training, largely through inservice workshops, has been a large part of the center's activities since its inception. The center has also helped districts develop desegregation plans, but this activity was curtailed by HEW in 1972. Since 1975, the GAC has been responsible for providing services in the area of Title IX (women's rights) as well as desegregation.

The GAC has two approaches to providing service to school districts: one approach is to sponsor activities such as workshops and conferences,

Table 2

Title IV General Assistance Center Funding
Educational Opportunities Planning Center (EOPC)
University of Tennessee at Knoxville

1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
$171,296	$ 97,668	$ 98,432	$200,089	$300,000	$200,000

1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
$200,000	$317,768	$332,295	$345,000	$345,000	$434,063

open to personnel in all districts within the service area. This year, conferences have dealt with curriculum issues (including multi-ethnic and non-sexist education as well as more traditional curriculum fields such as language arts and mathematics), Title IX, and school-community relations. The center also sponsors conferences particularly aimed at urban centers in the region through the yearly Cooperative Urban Project Conference.

The center's second approach to providing service for the region is to sponsor assistance to specific school districts at their request. This assistance is usually in the form of workshops dealing with specific desegregation-related district needs. EOPC has served over 200 districts either through multi-system activities or through assistance to individual districts, and has provided an average of one workshop about every two weeks. Last year, requests for individual assistance were received from more than 100 districts. Those chosen to receive such assistance generally met one or more of the following criteria: a high concentration of minority students; a willingness to work hard on their problems; and, where Title IX assistance was involved, a large number of students in the districts.

EOPC's Involvement with the Chattanooga School District: EOPC's relationship with the Chattanooga School District began in 1965 and has continued to the present. Over the years, a number of district activities have been funded by the GAC. For instance, in the late sixties, the GAC provided the Title IV-LEA teacher training programs with assistance in the teaching of reading. In 1970, EOPC provided a basic human relations program to one of the high schools, at a time when the school was experiencing considerable racial tension. In recent years, the GAC has provided funds to help support a student newspaper, The Bridge (funded primarily through ESAA). This year, EOPC and the district are working together to organize a conference about early childhood education.

GAC assistance to Chattanooga has tended to be related to matters of curriculum because of the district's belief that its biggest problem is to train teachers how to deal with children who are poor or who have different cultural backgrounds than middle class white children. There

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has been little work in recent years in the area of human relations, reflecting the belief among high-level district administrators that "there is less need now for attitude workshops."

Interactions: The district and the GAC seem to have an attitude of mutual respect based on years of close contact. The EOPC director interacts formally with a number of people in the district, including the director of federal programs, ESAA and Title IV directors and, at times, the superintendent. Informal contact with others in the district is also maintained. Many respondents indicated that "the doors are open" both at the district and at EOPC.

EOPC's contact with the EEOP regional office was described as "frequent and helpful" with assistance having been provided in both budgetary and programmatic matters. EOPC staff are unhappy and worried about the centralization of EEOP regional personnel. Not only will this move mean the loss of a valuable resource, but also some believe it may signal a loss of federal support for desegregation in the South.

Perceptions of the Title IV-GAC: In general, school district respondents reported positive impressions of EOPC. They respected its leadership and felt that the GAC director was committed to helping the district. According to one district respondent, the GAC director "would do anything in response to a request" from the district.

The two major criticisms of the GAC from district respondents were directed at GAC workshops. Some district personnel felt that the content of the GAC workshops was not aimed at the district's most pressing needs. One respondent claimed, "Our preferences for assistance in curriculum are beyond their scope. They don't have the staff or experience for this kind of help." This criticism was heightened by the view that the EOPC is largely a vehicle for the employment of graduate students who are not experienced enough to provide meaningful assistance to the more seasoned educators employed by the district.

A second major criticism by district staff members was that the GAC often failed to pay sufficient attention to details in coordinating meetings. As a result, workshops and conferences often appeared disorganized. We were told that one motivation for the district's help to the GAC in organizing a conference on early childhood education was to avoid a poorly planned conference.

Because of their dissatisfaction with GAC workshops, some district respondents felt that the district itself should have more discretion in the use of those GAC funds which had been earmarked for Chattanooga. Some argued that the district simply be given the funds which the GAC spent to assist the district.

From the perspective of EOPC, Chattanooga has been reluctant to face the issues of race relations that are raised by its desegregation efforts. One respondent felt that the district might benefit more from work in community relations than from the curriculum work which the district is so anxious to receive.

Nevertheless, EOPC staff generally feel that GAC activities have facilitated desegregation by helping Chattanooga and other school districts in the region face their major desegregation problems. One staff member felt that the center was fortunate to have maintained its image as an assistance agency when most federal programs were viewed by Southerners as a means for the government to enforce compliance with federal laws.

GAC staff members generally felt that their activities are not hampered by the federal guidelines. Obtaining formal permission from school superintendents is sometimes difficult, but because the GAC focuses on districts where there is a commitment to solving racial issues, this problem is not common. The more recent requirement that Title IX compliance be added to the duties of the GAC was not seen as a burden; on the contrary, one GAC staff member felt that educating districts in the area of sex discrimination often makes it easier for the GAC to broach issues of desegregation.

The one complaint with federal guidelines from the perspective of the GAC had to do with the one-year funding cycle. GAC staff members felt that the one-year funding cycle hampers their functioning for a number of reasons. First, considerable time each year is spent on proposal writing and concerns about refunding, and this reduces the time that staff members can devote to the day-to-day operations of the center. Secondly short-term funding severely limits the ability of the GAC to plan long-term programs, Thirdly, the GAC has difficulty hiring and maintaining staff when the center cannot offer greater job security. If multi-year funding were instituted, it was argued, these difficulties would be eased considerably.

The Office for Civil Rights (OCR)

The OCR office responsible for Chattanooga is the Region IV office in Atlanta, about 100 miles from Chattanooga. Within the jurisdiction of Region IV are eight states: Alabama, Flordia, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. The Elementary and Secondary Education Branch of the office, with jurisdiction over school desegregation plans, is staffed by 33 professionals and ten support staff.

Professional staff are assigned to cases largely on the basis of location and size of district, with the more experienced staff usually assigned to the larger districts. Over a year's time, the staff spend about a third of their time dealing with complaints, a third reviewing ESAA applications to determine districts' eligibility for ESAA funds, and the remaining third reviewing and monitoring compliance. During the past year, about 180 ESAA applications and 234 complaints were processed. About 85 of the districts applying for ESAA were found to be ineligible, but 80 of these applied for waivers, and all but five were granted. We were told that improvements in the ESAA forms made last year led to more accurate data being collected; these data in turn provided more evidence of non-compliance than had been found in the past.

Complaints received "pretty much run the gamut" in terms of issues. The office receives "lots" of employment complaints, under both Title IX and Title VI, as well as a good number of discipline case and general "everything-is-wrong" cases.

The passage of legislation prohibiting discrimination against women, non-English speaking students, and the handicapped is felt to have added to the complexity to OCR's work, and has required that the staff become increasingly knowledgable. Although attempts have been made to balance the workload across the areas covered by specifying the percentage of cases from each area, it has not been possible to do this because of the decision in Adams v. Weinburger (1975) that all complaints must be processed within 90 days of their receipt.

The main problem currently in handling cases is felt to be simply the large number of complaints. Increasing the staff size substantially to handle the workload is not seen as a solution because of the time required to train new staff members on the job. A national training program was believed scheduled to begin in the fall of 1977 but was not yet operating. Respondents were hopeful that this training program would take some of the burden off the regional offices.

Involvement with Chattanooga

OCR's first major involvement with Chattanooga came with a site visit to the school district in the fall of 1972 to monitor the district's eligibility for an Emergency School Assistance Program (ESAP) grant. At that time one of their primary interests was reportedly the racial mix of the high school faculties. Finding that two of the high schools had all-black faculties and that another had a predominantly white faculty, they required the district to provide a greater racial mix at each of these three schools. As a result of this and subsequent efforts, OCR respondents stated Chattanooga's faculty is currently quite well desegregated.

A second site visit occurred in the fall of 1974, this one a review of eligibility for ESAA. Areas of concern on this visit included student transportation, faculty and student assignment, transfers, suspensions, expulsions, school activities, and special education. As a result of the visit, the district was granted clearance for ESAA on the condition that several changes be made. These changes included adjusting placement in special education classes; publishing a handbook of district policy on such issues as school discipline, due process, and equal opportunity; modifying the formal policy on suspensions; and maintaining records of disciplinary actions. District respondents felt that the handbook that was produced, "Rights and Responsibilities", was "one of the positive things that came out of OCR monitoring." But they feel the record-keeping requirement is "excessive" because it involves so much paperwork.

Since the second OCR site visit to Chattanooga, two main areas of concern have continued to be identified by OCR from their reviews of district ESAA applications: special education, and suspensions and expulsions. Of these, the special education issue appears to have received the most attention and has been the subject of a continuing series of written exchanges between OCR and the district that began in early 1975. District sources claim that the problem has been due largely to misunderstanding by OCR and to confusion that resulted from changing regulations on special education at both the federal and state levels. They argue that OCR did not understand the distinction between children with learning disabilities (LD) and those who are educably mentally retarded (EMR), and that OCR was not familiar with the new state regulations. These misunderstandings led OCR to believe that all children in special education were EMR children, and that there were too many black children in this group. In fact, district sources claimed, "we weren't discriminating at all."

OCR sources argued that they do understand the difference between LD and EMR; in Chattanooga's ESAA applications, they say, the two types are shown separately, so it is most unlikely that OCR would not have viewed them separately. OCR sources also denied that they were unfamiliar with the state regulations. They claimed the problem was that the ESAA application showed that there were a disproportionate number of blacks in EMR classes and that the district did not have acceptable placement and evaluation procedures for the EMR children. Some children in EMR classes had not been tested prior to being placed, and there was some indication that appropriate tests were not being used. Thus, in OCR's view, the district was not in compliance with federal guidelines.

At the time of our site visit, this issue had been largely resolved, in that OCR believed the district to be in compliance with special education guidelines.

Few complaints have been received by OCR regarding Chattanooga schools. Several years ago complaints were received from a group of white parents claiming that it was "inconvenient" for their children to be bussed to black schools. These were referred back to the school district for resolution. More recently, a group of black parents complained that their children were not being provided with transportation although nearby white children were so provided. This issue, too, was resolved by the school district.

A third complaint was that white children living within Chattanooga school district boundaries were illegally transferring to all-white county schools, thereby tending to re-segregate city schools. Respondents in both the district and OCR reported that OCR has "came down hard" on both Chattanooga and the county regarding this issue. An OCR respondent also noted that Chattanooga is currently working to control these transfers (though only the county has the formal authority to stop them). We were told that the problem has been lessened, too, by the series of city annexations of county areas that have occurred over the last several years. However, other Chattanooga respondents outside the district claimed that the problem is continuing, and one person claimed that OCR has "looked the other way."

Respondents suggested a combination of reasons for the relative paucity of complaints against the district: The district is felt to doing quite well in its desegregation efforts, and there are no active civil rights groups in the area to monitor the process. Also, there seems to be considerable complacency or resignation among blacks in the area. One respondent noted that blacks may feel they will "get a raw deal even in desegregation, so they don't care much one way or the other."

In general, the relationship between Chattanooga and the Region IV OCR office seems to be reasonably good, though not without some friction. Over the years, an OCR respondent noted, the district has had an "off again, on again" attitude toward OCR and has tried to "go the political route in some cases." (OCR claims that this strategy has "no effect" on the Office in recent years. "Congress is more cooperative than it used to be," one person noted.) Overall, Chattanooga is seen as "fairly cooperative on most issues."

Perceptions of OCR

Sources in the district who have been heavily involved in interactions with OCR described the Office as "cooperative" and "effective"; "they do what they have to do." Yet at the same time the district finds OCR's "guilty until proven innocent" approach to be "unfortunate", and charges that OCR does not understand or appreciate the difficulty of the data collection tasks it requires of districts.

Data collection tasks to which district respondents referred include both the 101 and 102 survey forms required annually and the supplemental information requested for specific areas of concern (such as special education placement.) Combined, these data requirements are seen as "overwhelming." "It is a tremendous task," a district spokesperson said. "It is all done by hand and by people who are basically not data people." In addition, it was noted, "There is no money for data collection, and besides, education issues have higher priority." Particularly difficult to gather is information on events in the past: "Sometimes it requires manually sorting thousands of pieces of paper."

Besides feeling that OCR does not appreciate data collection efforts, the district also believes that some of OCR's requests are not made with any particular focus but rather are the product of "fishing expeditions." There is considerable displeasure, too, with the "poor design" of the 101 and 102 survey forms and with the fact that they change every year, though it is recognized that many of the changes are required by new legislation. Finally, there is a sense that the massive amounts of data collected overwhelm OCR as well as the districts. A district administrator claimed, "We just recently got a call from Washington about our 101 form from three years ago."

To reduce the burden, district sources suggested that OCR use sampling techniques within districts, rather than "getting everything from every class in every school." On the other hand, one source outside the district administration felt there is a need for closer OCR monitoring and more effective enforcement.

Perceptions of OCR from within the Region IV office: When asked about the complaints of excessive data collection requirements, OCR sources responded that such requirements are necessary when OCR suspects noncompliance. However, they denied charges that they request historical data other than that which has been previously collected. They also note that they do indeed use sampling techniques for the 101 and 102 forms. More generally, they feel that an adversary relationship between OCR and the districts is unavoidable. "We try to maintain a consistent approach," one person said," but it is a fine line to consistently apply the law and also take into consideration the unique situations of each school district."

The relationship between the Region IV office and the central OCR office in Washington is "probably the closest" of all the regions because Region IV has been in operation for many years "and therefore, we do a good job." Yet problems do arise when "we have to try to second guess Washington" (on policy decisions). This happens most frequently in cases related to Title IX (women's rights), as this is the only issue in Region IV for which all investigations must be sent to Washington.

Asked about the strengths of OCR, respondents mentioned Region IV's accomplishments in the areas of classroom assignment and ability grouping, special education and women's rights. OCR ruling on classroom assignments and ability groupings were seen to have led to "considerably less discrimination and to more thought about how grouping should be done and what effects it has." In the area of special education, OCR's work has resulted in "much tighter placement" and teachers who are more highly qualified. However, one respondent noted, work still needs to be done to reduce the frequency of "overinclusive" referrals to special education classes and to understand why teachers refer more black children to special education than they do white children. OCR's impact on women's rights is reportedly attested to by Region IV's 400 percent increase in female participation in school athletic programs since 1972.

OCR's chief weakness in Region IV was seen as the excessive amount of time required to bring districts into the enforcement process. The problem here is reportedly that the Office of General Counsel (OGC) must take enforcement action after OCR completes its investigation, and for some reason unknown to OCR, OGC requires a great deal of time to do this. It was felt that having OGC housed with OCR would alleviate some of these difficulties.

OCR could also be more effective, we were told, if they had larger staffs and if regulations and policy were clarified--"policy has been a shambles for the past eight years on desegregation and everything else." There is a need for more compliance manuals and "much more" standardization on, for example, OCR report formats, letters of findings, investigative procedures, and monitoring instruments. Additionally, the national office should insist on accountability: "There is too much tolerance of incompetence," one respondent claimed.

Region IV is hopeful that President Carter will make some of the desired changes in OCR policy and procedures. However, one noted, "it will take time to clean things up."

V. OVERVIEW

In the preceding sections, the process of desegregation in Chattanooga has been outlined; the roles of ESAA, CRA-Title IV, and OCR have been described, and respondents' perceptions of these programs have been discussed.

As a Southern city with a dual school system, Chattanooga was directly affected by the Brown v. Board of Education decisions of 1954 and 1955, ordering the dismantling of segregated school systems. Chattanooga's Board of Education promptly announced its intention to comply with the decision, but, following indications of community resistance, little was done. Not until a court order in 1960 did any progress begin. Chattanooga spent the sixties in a gradual desegregation effort which culminated in 1966 with the end of *de jure* segregation in the high schools. *De facto* segregation continued, however, in 17 of the district's 44 elementary and junior high schools and in two of the five high schools, and a number of desegregated schools remained racially imbalanced.

Following a second court order in 1971, the district developed a plan to promote more extensive desegregation, involving mandatory busing and pairing or clustering of schools at the elementary level, prescribed attendance zones for schools at the secondary level, and transfer of a large number of teachers. The plan was implemented in two phases, one beginning in 1971 and the other in 1974. Though accompanied by considerable legal maneuvering on both sides of the desegregation controversy, and by the loss of more than 5000 white students, the two phases were implemented on schedule.

Yet *de facto* segregation and racial imbalance persist, most notably in the two black high schools. City annexation of county areas has aggravated the situation because their overwhelmingly white schools had not been included in the desegregation plan. The courts have declined to intervene in correcting these factors.

While vestiges of segregation remain in Chattanooga's school system, the district has nevertheless come a long way from the dual system that existed in 1960. There have been a few violent outbursts along the way, but no serious injuries have occurred. Resistance to desegregation has mainly taken the form of declining white enrollments, not altogether surprising in a community with a strong private school tradition and nearby heavily white suburban and rural areas.

Throughout the process, Title IV monies have provided an avenue for bi-racial interactions and understanding. Since 1972, ESAA has served a similar role. Both programs have enabled the district to provide services to children and adults that would not otherwise have been available, and in so doing they have helped make desegregation more palatable to both the community and district faculty and administration.

Through Title IV monies, the district began the process of teacher desegregation in 1966. This process was accelerated by OCR requirements following a review of the district's eligibility for ESAP in 1972. Thus, the three federal programs of interest here all contributed either directly or indirectly to the existence of a desegregated faculty in Chattanooga.

OCR has also helped assure equal rights and opportunities in the areas of special education programs and due process in student disciplinary procedures. The Office has not been involved directly with student assignment issues because these have been under the jurisdiction of the federal district court since 1961.

APPENDIX D

Case #4

SEATTLE PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Seattle, Washington

WORKING REPORT

APPENDIX D

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I. INTRODUCTION

This report focuses on the Seattle School District in Seattle, Washington, and is the fourth in a series of five case studies which examine the role of three federal programs in the process of desegregation. The programs of concern are the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA); Title IV of the Civil Rights Act (CRA); and the enforcement of Title VI of the CRA by the Office for Civil Rights (OCR). The report primarily describes the activities of these programs within one community, Seattle. In order to establish a context within which the program activities may be understood, the history of Seattle and its desegregation process are also described.

The overall objectives of the case studies are to determine the impact of ESAA, CRA-Title IV, and OCR on desegregation in selected school districts across the nation and, on the basis of these findings, suggest means of optimizing future program impacts. This report is based predominantly on interviews with a variety of Seattleites knowledgeable about the city's desegregation process, ESAA, CRA-Title IV, and/or OCR. A total of approximately 50 individuals were interviewed individually during the second week of December, 1977. Respondents included district level administrators, Board of Education members, ESAA and Title IV program directors and staff, building administrators, teachers, Region X OCR staff, Region X EEO staff, ESAA advisory committee members, community representatives active in the desegregation process, and media representatives. Respondents were interviewed on topics appropriate for their particular roles with questions selected from a semi-structured interview guide. In addition to the interviews, limited archival data were also collected relating to ESAA and Title IV (e.g., racial enrollment patterns, proposals for ESAA and Title IV programs, proposed desegregation plans).

The remainder of this report is organized as follows: Section II, "The Setting for Desegregation," provides an overview of the Seattle community and its history, with particular emphasis on Seattle's history of race relations. The process of desegregation, beginning in the early 1960's and continuing to the present, is the focus of Section III. Section IV, "Federal Legislated Involvement in Desegregation," consists of a discussion of ESAA, CRA-Title IV, and OCR. An overview in Section V concludes the report.

II. THE SETTING FOR DESEGREGATION

Seattle, the seat of King County, Washington, lies along Elliott Bay on the east side of Puget Sound, about 128 miles from the Pacific Ocean. With a 1977 population of 504,000, Seattle is the largest city in the Pacific Northwest and the 23rd largest in the nation. Great ethnic diversity is found in Seattle's population. Although whites are in the majority (85 percent), 9 percent of the residents are black. Over 5 percent are Asian, including Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Samoan, Korean and Vietnamese. A smaller number are native American (0.9 percent) or Hispanic (0.4 percent). As will be described in greater detail later, 34 percent of all children enrolled in the public schools are members of minority groups.

About 80 percent of the 92 square miles of land that lie within the Seattle city limits is surrounded by water; in fact, with the exception of the small land areas that form the northern and southern boundaries, the city limits are liquid. The western boundary, Puget Sound, provides the city with a saltwater harbor; the eastern boundary, Lake Washington, gives the city a freshwater harbor in its backyard. In between these boundaries are two lakes and two rivers; one of the rivers was widened into shipping canals that link Puget Sound with Lake Washington. This system of waterways, providing Seattle with almost 100 miles of waterfront, has been a major factor in Seattle's development. Seattle is the nation's fourth largest seaport handling containerized shipping and leads the nation in recreational boats per capita. Boeing, the world's largest manufacturer of jet aircraft, is a dominant factor in the city's economy. With the Olympic Mountains to the west and the Cascade Mountains to the east, Seattle is surrounded by great natural beauty. The city is kept perpetually green by an average annual rainfall of 38.79 inches.

In addition to these attributes, Seattle has numerous other attractions. The city is reported to have the soundest budget and financial status of any of the nation's 50 largest cities. In 1977, the city's crime rate dropped 13 percent--the sharpest decline of any major American community. In terms of home ownership, Seattle ranks third in the nation. A cultural center thrives in the area where the 1963 World's Fair was housed. Many civic organizations are active. These characteristics have combined with others to give Seattle top ranking in at least three recent polls dealing with the quality of life in American cities; the city tends to rank high on education and civic concern factors.

To an extent, Seattle's positive characteristics serve to obscure the problems that do exist within its boundaries. According to a 1977 report by the Seattle Office of Policy Planning, the most severe population problem faced by Seattle is the continued concentration of the region's poor in certain neighborhoods:

> Income data show that the wealthier families in the region are increasingly living in suburbia, while poorer families are increasingly living in Seattle. Moreover, 91 percent of the region's black population live in Seattle, many of whom are poor and have little, if any, opportunity to live elsewhere within the region. In fact, the growing concentration of poor, minority persons in the Central Area and Southeast Seattle strongly indicates that Seattle's ghetto is likely to intensify in the near future.

Seattle has never experienced the racial violence found in some urban areas in recent decades. Yet the city has had considerable experience with racial problems. There were no violent encounters between whites and American Indians in Seattle's history, but almost as soon as railroad builders began importing Chinese for cheap labor, a strong anti-Chinese movement took shape and erupted in the late 1880's; mob violence ultimately led to martial law and occupation of the city by federal troops. Eventually, most of the Chinese community was expelled. Another Asian racial trauma occurred in 1942 when Seattle's large Japanese-American community was herded into the relocation camps of World War II. At war's end, when the Japanese began to return to Seattle, they were usually greeted with hostility.

Until the 1960's the problems of blacks in Seattle went virtually unnoticed by the great majority of Seattle's citizens. Seattle's black population has always been relatively small. Although the manpower needs of both World War II and the aerospace industry had contributed to a large increase in Seattle's black residents, by 1960 blacks represented only 4.8 percent of the city's total population. In the late 1960's there were a series of confrontations between blacks and the police, some marches which threatened violence, and some demonstrations at Seattle college campuses and universities. Among other changes, the city has responded by creating in the police department a division of community service officers recruited from ghetto districts. In 1968, the first black was elected to the Seattle City Council.

Education and the Seattle School District

In the current 1977-78 school year, the school district has 84 elementary schools (K-5 or K-6), 6 middle schools (grades 6-8), 11 junior highs (grades 7-8), and 12 high schools (grades 9-12). Total enrollment (including pre-school and special education students) is about 59,000. The racial distribution of the student population is: (1) white, 65.7 percent, (2) black, 18.3 percent, (3) Asian/Pacific Islander, 9.5 percent, (4) Hispanic, 3.6 percent, and (5) American Indian/Alaskan Native, 2.8 percent. There are 2,864 classroom teachers, 437 instructional support personnel, 204 building administrators and program managers, and 75 central administrators, making a total of 3,584 certificated staff in the district. About 15 percent of the building level certificated staff are minority group members.

The school district is governed by a seven-person Board of Education whose members are elected for six-year terms of office. Each board member represents a particular geographical area of the city. In the primary election, only residents of the particular geographic area can vote for the prospective board members aspiring to represent the area. The two top contenders for each specific geographic area are then voted upon city-wide in the general election two months later.

From the beginning, educational quality has been important to Seattle, as evidenced by the fact that the annual school levy has only failed three times since its inception in 1934. The levy was originally introduced as a measure to underwrite the cost of special expenses that could not be met through any other means. However, as the cost of education rose, the levy was used increasingly to cover basics. In 1957 it became solely a general fund levy covering between 25 and 35 percent of the district's basic educational costs.

That Seattleites care about their educational system is also apparent in the extent of school-community cooperation. For one thing, the school-neighborhood councils initiated by the Model Cities program are still intact and active. For another, Seattle is one of the few cities where the business community actively supports public education. The Chamber of Commerce coordinates a program in which Seattle businesses and industries provide volunteer services in tutoring and career education to elementary and secondary schools in the district. Perhaps most importantly, there is an emerging sense of cooperation between the school district and the city of Seattle in seeking joint solutions to problems.

III. THE PROCESS OF DESEGREGATION

Early Desegregation Efforts (1963-1971)

Although the first major step towards desegregation of the Seattle public schools was not taken until 1963, segregation was becoming a reality in the Seattle School District as early as the mid 1950's. Some Seattle residents recall that even when the U.S. Supreme Court was making its historic desegregation decisions in 1954, the Seattle Urban League was asking the Seattle Board of Education to end its "de facto" segregation in the schools. The request was acknowledged, but no action was taken.

At the time, there was little public awareness of the problem of segregation. It was generally assumed that the city's "foreign element" had been assimilated into the fabric of Seattle life. In 1961, however, a University of Washington study found that most elementary schools in Seattle's Central Area had majority black populations, and one of the city's high schools was almost 52 percent non-white. No action was taken until 1963, when the Seattle Urban League protested that there were eight segregated schools in the district and that this number could double within the next 10 years.

On August 28, 1963, the Board of Education announced its initial desegregation plan: A Voluntary Racial Transfer (VRT) program that would move black pupils in the Central Area to predominately white schools in outlying attendance areas. At the time, the plan seemed "safe" and in keeping with conservative values; black pupil dispersion would arouse little controversy in the larger community. However, by 1965, it had become clear that the VRT program was having little, if any, impact upon racial imbalance in the Seattle school district.

In the meantime, Seattle's Urban League had been developing its own solution to the desegregation problem. On May 6, 1965, the League presented to the Board of Education its "Triad Plan," which proposed pairing school grades in different buildings and cross-town busing. One week later, however, the League's plan was rejected by the Board on the grounds that it would reduce the quality of education provided in the district.

Less than one year later, on March 18, 1966, the NAACP filed a suit in Federal court on behalf of 30 black students, charging that 77 percent of all black elementary students in Seattle were located in nine of the district's 84 elementary schools. The suit asked for an end to minority isolation in the Central Area schools and the development of a comprehensive desegregation plan. The case never went to court, however, since neither the NAACP nor the school district could afford the costs of a court case. Following the Board of Education's promise that it would take more aggressive steps to desegregate the schools, the suit was dismissed. The Board, however, remained unchanged in its commitment to a voluntary plan; integration, board members insisted, should proceed on an orderly basis through the VRT program. Frustrated at the board's refusal to alter its stand, on March 31, 1966, the civil rights leadership of the community staged a successful boycott of all schools in the Central Area.

The school board's response to the boycott was to promise development of a new and more comprehensive plan. Thus, in January, 1966, the Board appointed a Seattle Citizen's School Progress Planning Committee of 100 with a mandate to examine a "continuous progress" concept of integrated education. In June, 1966, the Committee announced its results: Quality education in an integrated environment could best be accomplished through development of "continuous progress learning centers," involving neighborhood schools (grades K-4) feeding into "education centers" (grades 5-12). In 1967, a Southeast Education Center was established to develop this concept, but the effort never went beyond the planning stage.

On December 16, 1967, a new desegregation plan was proposed by the Board that required busing 2,000 middle school students (fifth through eighth grades). What was remarkable about this plan was that it required mandatory busing without a court order; Seattle was the first major city in the country to take this step. It would, however, be 5 years from the time the plan was proposed in 1967 until it was implemented in 1972.

In the intervening years, a series of studies concerning details of the plan were undertaken. Complicating the development of a suitable plan was a schism developing in Seattle's black community. Until 1968, most of Seattle's black community leaders had sought remedies that embodied integrationist philosophy. For example, the civil rights committee of the Central Area had lobbied extensively for the closure of Central Area schools and the dispersion of black pupils to better equipped and staffed predominately white schools. Now spokesmen were instead proposing black community control of local neighborhood schools. In an effort to resolve this difference, a Central Area School Council was formed to provide a forum for the exchange of views for all parties to the dispute and also to serve as a central point from which a comprehensive resolution could be developed.

At about this time, Seattle's first magnet program was organized. In July, 1968, $120,000 was successfully raised in the local business community for the establishment of a fine arts magnet program at a predominately black high school. This and other measures taken were perceived as inadequate, however, and mounting community pressure led to a School Board resolution, announced on November 11, 1970, to implement the middle school mandatory busing plan.

The plan entailed movement of approximately 600 students from predominately white areas to middle schools in the Central Area, and movement in the other direction of 600 Central Area students. The plan stated that the non-white pupil population in each middle school should be 15 to 40 percent of the school population, that there should be high quality education programs, and that major community involvement should be obtained.

The Board's plea for citizen input did not go unheeded. Many individuals and two major groups responded to the invitation. One of these groups was the Citizens Committee for Quality Education, a self-constituted group of broad citizen interest. This group sought and received board sanction to develop recommendations for helping to implement board policy. In contrast, the second major group, Citizens Against Mandatory Busing (CAMB), was intensely opposed to the board's desegregation plans. On December 7, 1970, CAMB filed articles of incorporation and put the school board on notice that it would immediately (1) seek court action to prevent the district from implementing desegregation plans the following fall (1971); (2) institute a recall action against the school board; and (3) seek anti-busing legislation at the state level. On December 10, CAMB filed an action in the Seattle Superior Court seeking an injunction to prevent the school board from carrying out desegregation. On January 19, 1971, CAMB filed recall charges against the seven members of the school board and demanded the resignation of the superintendent of schools.

On the following day, January 20, 1971, a number of individuals and groups came to the defense of the Board of Education. For example, a high school student senate, composed of representatives of the city's 12 high schools, authorized a statement which declared: "It seems almost immature to attempt a recall of elected officials who have taken a controversial stand in the community interest." And the Seattle Federation of Teachers declared "we are going to support the school board against any recall action."

On January 27, 1971, the Board issued its strongest statement to date, expressing its intent to desegregate the Seattle schools:

> The Seattle School Board will not deviate from its goal for integration of all Seattle schools at the earliest feasible date. It believes that the time has come for all Seattle citizens to join with the Board to expunge from our schools all vestiges of segregation...It is the Board's goal to eliminate de facto segregation throughout the district by 1973.

The Board also did not back off from community involvement, directing the school district to establish a citizens' steering committee made up of representatives of the Central Area School Council to work closely with the Citizens Committee for Quality Education. This group later evolved into the District-Wide Advisory Committee, a major forum for community involvement in desegregation.

Almost as soon as the citizens' steering committee was formed, it had to deal with what some thought was the overriding issue of the desegregation controversy: Passage of the 1971 annual local school levy, due to be voted upon in late March. In the past, the local levy had represented as much as 35 percent of the school budget. The critical question was: How would a levy victory or defeat affect desegregation plans for the fall? At the time, Seattle was banking heavily on state and federal funds to finance the desegregation effort. But no one knew how much, if any, would be available. There was talk of legislation to restrict use of state money for "forced" busing. Many desegregation supporters believed that desegregation foes would vote against the levy just to defeat desegregation planning.

The desegregation supporters were right. A few days before the levy election, CAMB announced it would decline to support the $30 million levy on the ballot. On March 21, 1971, the levy was voted down, one of the first levy defeats in Seattle's history. Almost immediately, the school board informed the public that the failure of the levy would not affect the desegregation plan, although the quality of the educational programs in all schools might be reduced.

Since levy regulations provide for a second vote in the event of a first vote failure, there was some hope that the measure would pass on the May 18 ballot. This time, however, CAMB members took an even stronger stand, urging voters to stay away from the polls. On the other hand, civil rights groups, Catholic organizations, community organizations and the Boeing Company supported levy passage. This time the levy passed with a city-wide "yes" vote of 79 percent.

The parents of about 60 of the 842 students involved in the mandatory busing plan stated their intention to appeal their children's inclusion. Extensive preparations for implementation of mandatory busing proceeded, however. Hundreds of hours of teacher and parent training in human relations were conducted. Information on desegregation was provided to all parents and students through a volunteer newsletter funded by the Model Cities Program. Before school opened, a three-week summer "shakedown" session of curriculum innovations was held for teachers. All of the middle schools involved were restaffed, and new principals were appointed.

But three weeks before school was to open, on August 10, 1971, a superior court judge put a halt to the proposed desegregation plan by ruling in favor of the CAMB anti-busing suit of December, 1970. The judge's ruling called for a one-year delay in implementation of the desegregation plan and enjoined the board from busing any child to a school other than his neighborhood school. By this time busing had become a national issue, and the judge's ruling was made at the time President Nixon was directing federal agencies to seek school desegregation without busing.

School officials were shocked at the legal decision. So confident had they been that CAMB would lose the suit, they had not even drafted a contingency plan to use in the event of a CAMB victory. The court decision had a devastating effect on the elaborate preparations that had been made. All of the carefully laid plans had to be reversed in three weeks' time. The school board voted to defer mandatory assignment for a year, but to operate three middle schools on a voluntary transfer basis. The 842 youngsters who had been mandatorily assigned were asked to volunteer instead; from this number, 163 black and 84 white voluntary transfers were obtained.

The school year that followed was marked by racial strife in the schools that accepted the voluntary transfers, media attacks on the superintendent, and public debate on the issues surrounding desegregation. The school board was waiting for a decision on its appeal of the superior court ruling to the Washington State Supreme Court. Meanwhile, the Board reviewed the numerous detailed proposals for desegregation that had been submitted by more than a dozen citizen groups.

An anti-busing statement made by President Nixon in March, 1972, led to numerous public demands that the Board cease any desegregation planning that included mandatory busing. The board president said he personally was bewildered by the President's position:

> The President said we must continue desegregation. Yet, he also said he doesn't want busing. I can't see how we can desegregate without moving children from one school to another.

On March 23, 1972, the board voted 4-3 to go ahead with desegregation in some form rather than to delay all desegregation efforts. On March 30, the board voted to go ahead with plans for a voluntary, elementary school pairing plan to be ready by September, 1972. At the same meeting, the harassed president of the school board resigned unexpectedly, shouting, "It's just too much!" This move, which stunned fellow board members, gave Seattle its first black school board president, who stepped up from the vice presidency.

One week later, on April 6, 1972, the Washington State Supreme Court, in a unanimous decision, overthrew the injunction which had prevented the mandatory busing of Seattle students, leaving the original plan for multi-racial middle schools as school policy. School Board members were elated by the decision. One observer at the time noted, "It's perfectly clear that President Nixon is out of step with our Washington State Supreme Court!" CAMB members promised to appeal the state decision to the U.S. Supreme Court and continued to pursue their recall effort against the school board. The U.S. Supreme Court appeal ultimately fell through for lack of legal funds, and the school board recall measure was later defeated.

Implementing the Desegregation Plans (1972-1977)

Following the state Supreme Court decision, the school district staff began implementing the plan for middle school desegregation. As many student volunteers as possible were to be sought, with May 26, 1972, set as the deadline for volunteer signups. After that, the plan called for assigning students to schools mandatorily. By May 26, 245 students had volunteered; 160 were white and 85 were black. In June, notices were sent to the parents of the 525 students who were to be mandatorily assigned. By the end of the summer, about 400 additional students had volunteered.

When school opened on September 1, 1972, about 1,170 students--out of a total enrollment of about 16,600 in grades 6-8--rode buses to begin the desegregation of four Seattle middle schools. A little more than half of them were volunteers. Parent volunteers, temporary staff, and additional security measures were used on opening day in case of trouble, but there were no incidents. About three weeks after school opened, unidentified vandals flattened the tires on about 70 school buses, but transportation was quickly provided by parent volunteers. This incident was the only act of violence in implementation of the first phase of the desegregation effort.

The second phase of desegregation, planned for the following year, was to include kindergarten through 12th grade in all the schools of three highly segregated areas. The third phase, city-wide desegregation of all grades, was set for September, 1973. But, in fact, following implementation of the first phase, the Seattle School Board temporarily retreated from its activism in implementing desegregation. This reaction probably resulted from both a desire for peace following the intensities of implementing the first phase, and a concern not to jeapordize first phase accomplishments by generating renewed public opposition.

Pressures for further integration did not begin to build until 1974. In an April, 1974, memorandum an outspoken associate superintendent of the Seattle School District expressed concern about desegregation progress. This concern, he said, stemmed from several factors: (1) the failure of the district to demonstrate further movement since the fall of 1972, (2) a decrease in desegregation due to movement of minorities within the district and a falling off of voluntary transfers, and (3) the possibility of a lawsuit. On June 6, 1974, the school district's attorney warned the Board of Education that recent findings concerning "de facto" segregation could be used against Seattle, and that the city faced the possibility of a court order similar to those issued in Denver and San Francisco. The memorandum contained recommendations for development of modified magnet schools. Magnet schools were also proposed by the Seattle League of Women Voters, in a memo to the Board in June, 1974. In this memo, they also expressed their concern that the "vigorous beginning to school desegregation in Seattle had lost its momentum."

In response, on June 13, 1974, the school board adopted a resolution affirming its commitment to desegregation. The resolution was important since it was both a reaffirmation of former decisions and an expression of commitment from new Board members. The resolution also listed desegregation actions planned for the next two years; these included desegregation of the city's predominately black high school by the beginning of the 1975-76 school year, pairing of all segregated schools, and the conduct of a boundary realignment study. Developing interest in the magnet school concept was also reflected in the resolution in strong recommendations that the black high school be made into an exemplary magnet school to attract white volunteer students.

Most of the planned actions were never implemented, however. In the spring of 1975, the school levy failed on both of the votes possible under local regulations, costing the district about $30 million in lost revenues and forcing the lay-off of about 1600 certificated personnel and 500 classified personnel.

Then, in the summer of 1975, the district found that it would not receive Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA) funds for the coming school year. One proposal, for $554,000, was rejected because of low quality. Another, for $201,000, was determined to be of acceptable quality but funds were withheld following an Office for Civil Rights (OCR) review. OCR found the district in non-compliance with ESAA's eligibility criteria on the grounds that (1) its identification of and service to children with limited English-speaking ability was inadequate; (2) minority faculty were inappropriately concentrated in schools with large minority student enrollments; and (3) the district had failed to maintain local fiscal efforts. (See pp. 50 to 53 for a further discussion of these events.)

These financial setbacks seriously affected the desegregation effort. Lack of funds made it impossible for elementary schools to participate in the paired school program; available money had to be used for supplies. Furthermore, the number of voluntary racial transfers was steadily declining.

Faced with these problems, a newly elected Board of Education appealed to the public for support, starting a trend toward increased community involvement that was to significantly affect the course of desegregation in the next two years. At a board meeting on January 28, 1976, the school board president told the public:

> Court-ordered mandatory busing of children is a very real possibility for the Seattle School District unless there is an all-out community effort to integrate the schools. Like it or not, it (desegregation) is the law of the land. We are now facing the real possibility of having a Boston, Louisville or Detroit here.

Following the retirement of the district superintendent in the summer of 1976, the Board of Education hired a new superintendent from the Mid-west, givi him a mandate to desegregate the Seattle schools. The new superintendent was confident that not only was voluntary desegregation possible in Seattle, but that the chances for its success were greater than in most other large metropolitan areas. This prediction was based primarily on his observation that Seattle did not have the significant "white flight" found in most other cities, since the city population was about 85 percent white.

One of the first steps taken by the incoming superintendent in the summer of 1976 was to create a desegregation office. Federal funds to support such an office were obtained from USOE under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act. (See page 48 for a further discussion of this Title IV grant.) To head this office, an inner-city high school principal with impeccable credentials in the minority community was appointed. Little power was given to the position, however, and the new desegregation director and the new superintendent disagreed on desegregation policy. The major approach to desegregation brought to Seattle by the new superintendent was the magnet school concept, but the new desegregation director insisted the magnet concept would never work, and that what was needed was an orderly plan of mandatory assignment.

In the face of this impasse, the director of desegregation went to the community to gain support for his position. According to many respondents, this decision had a profound impact on the course of desegregation in Seattle, as the involvement of community forces eventually determined the nature of the Seattle desegregation plan.

After ESAA funds were released to Seattle in October, 1976, the tempo of desegregation activities in the district picked up, especially in terms of citizen input. Throughout the month of October, citizen meetings were held in each school. One active group called "Seattle's Say on Schools" made a plea for more openness in desegregation planning. As the leaders of the group told the board:

> We need to know everything, including what plans for desegregation are being considered. It is better to build trust on known facts than let citizens sit back and assume certain things about a desegregation plan based on the latest rumors.

Even with community pressures mounting, the Board of Education seemed unable to take a firm position; at this time, the board was split on whether it would vote for mandatory assignment if voluntary desegregation should fail. But time for a choice of this type seemed to be running out. In November, 1976, the district received its first official warning from the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), which had been studying the desegregation problem in Seattle since July. The ACLU announced it was prepared to go to court to force substantial desegregation of the Seattle public schools:

> The source of our impatience is that there have been a lot of promises (in Seattle) over the years. As far as we're concerned, it's time for some action. ACLU wants a substantial decrease in the number of segregated schools next year. We are skeptical, at best, that this can be accomplished with voluntary programs.

In response, the district's desegregation director asked the ACLU to hold off legal action until it could review the district's new desegregation plan then under development. The ACLU promised to delay action until the middle of February, but warned that, if upon evaluation, the district's plan was unsatisfactory, litigation would likely result.

In January, 1977, the desegregation director reluctantly presented the new desegregation plan to the School Board. At the direction of the superintendent, the new plan was a "strictly magnet program." The director went on to explain that the magnet approach "blows away a lot of strategies:"

> We cannot relocate programs. We cannot cluster schools. We cannot pair elementaries. We cannot set racial quotas. We cannot set enrollment lids. That pretty well eliminates some of the strategies that could be used in the realm of voluntarism.

The director urged the board to direct the district to prepare additional alternatives as back-up strategies, but no such directions were provided. The superintendent remained convinced of the efficacy of magnet programs, at the same time admitting his concern that planning a mandatory reassignment back-up would jeopardize the chances for passage of the district's $45 million levy on February 8.

It was at this time, toward the end of January, 1977, that Seattle's civic agencies began to be openly concerned about the desegregation process. For example, on January 19, 1977, the Joint Advisory Commission on Education, a prestigious committee whose members are appointed by the mayor, City Council and school board, called for total mobilization by the city to carry out desegregation:

> Desegregation is not a school program. It never was. It is an issue which affects every citizen and elected official in Seattle and, as such, should be given at least as much consideration as an annual levy or a housing redevelopment plan.

The state, too, became interested after the superintendent spent an afternoon trying to convince state legislators that the district's magnet program was workable and that the legislature should come up with $1 million in state aid.

In the meantime, however, community sentiment was developing against the voluntary magnet program as an effective desegregation technique, even as support for desegregation generally grew. The Seattle chapter of the NAACP announced that it would be prepared to oppose "with all its power" anything less than a mandatory reassignment program for Seattle schools in 1977. The Urban League added its opposition, claiming that its own busing plan was still the best and most equitable of the desegregation plans. Student high school leaders even added their negative vote, challenging the legality of the proposed magnet plan. Finally, the director of the District-Wide Advisory Committee on desegregation resigned, saying the statement by the NAACP was the last straw, and claiming that the district was embarked, not on a desegregation strategy, but on a strategy of resistance. As he told the Board of Education:

> You are all very nice people. But what we do not seem to have is the kind of leadership we need to get us out of this. Voluntary desegregation is voluntary desegregation for those few white kids who want to go and mandatory desegregation for black kids. That has to stop. We have run out of time for this kind of dialogue. I think we are very close to going to court.

Court was indeed near. On April 12, 1972, the NAACP filed a complaint of civil rights violation with the HEW Office for Civil Rights against the Seattle School Board, charging that the district was running illegally segregated schools. At the same time, leaders of the Democratic Party in King County announced their support of the potential lawsuit by ACLU. Later in the month, a coalition of other potential plaintiffs (The Asian American Education Association, the Church Council of Greater Seattle) added their voices to the ACLU threat.

During this time, the district was making every effort to obtain voluntary transfers for the magnet program. In April, a hotline to the district office was established for interested persons to make inquiries. Literature was distributed to parents announcing magnet program presentations at various district schools. Yet, by the middle of May, applications for magnet school enrollment were unsatisfactory. The largely black Central Area School Council denounced the magnet program as a failure.

It was an extremely critical period--perhaps the most critical in the desegregation process. Civic organizations that had previously kept a low profile regarding desegregation now became involved. On May 20, 1977, a letter was sent to the president of the school board signed by the Municipal League, the City of Seattle, the Chamber of Commerce and the Urban League. The letter stated that these organizations wished to go on record as one voice asking for the board's adoption of a definition of racial isolation and measurable goals to eliminate it. The letter further stressed that the signators were unaware of any conclusive evidence that significant middle-class outmigration would occur as a consequence of school desegregation as long as the following conditions were met:

1. Measurable commitment on the part of the board
2. Support of others besides the board occupying positions of civic responsibility and leadership
3. Open involvement of citizens and citizen groups from policy and plan development through implementation.

Shortly after this letter was received by the board, the District-Wide Advisory Committee was re-activated. Appointed as chairman was a professor of educational administration from the University of Washington, with expertise in the area of school/community relations. After receiving assurance that the district was interested in having a real, rather than a token advisory committee, the chairman went into action, assembling a roster of 58 people representing 41 Seattle organizations. Even the anti-integrationist camp was represented on the District-Wide Advisory Committee's membership. By this time, the remnants of the CAMB group that had provided active opposition to desegregation in the early 1970's were regrouping and making plans for a new fight.

By June, 1977, it had become clear that the ACLU and its coalition would sue if a mandatory plan were not adopted. It was also clear that what had prevented an earlier suit by ACLU was pressure from the mediating Municipal League and other civic agencies which had wanted to give the district more time. Editorials had begun appearing in the Seattle press, applauding the position of the ACLU, and urging the board to take action. Above all, the concern seemed to be that the federal courts should not be allowed to determine the future of the Seattle public schools.

Given the rising tide of community pressure, the superintendent reversed his position and made a timely concession:

> There's no way the complete job can be done by magnets alone. School closures, some boundary changes, relocation of programs and all-school magnets will probably be in the offing.

Early in June, the superintendent met with the ACLU and agreed to support its list of demands:

1. Enhancement of the magnet schools program through voluntary pairing of certain schools and creation of all-school magnets.
2. By the start of the 1977-78 school year, placement of at least 3,200 students in school transfers.
3. By July 1, 1977, establishment of numerical goals for eliminating racial imbalance over the next 3 years.
4. Establishment of a legally acceptable school district definition of racial imbalance.
5. Passage of a Board of Education resolution regarding desegregation measures.
6. By December 15, 1977, adoption of the final plan for eliminating racial imbalance.

As a first step in meeting the ACLU demands, the school board met in mid-June and adopted two resolutions. The first of these defined racial imbalance as:

> The situation that exists when the combined minority student enrollment in a school exceeds the district-wide combined minority average by 20 percentage points, provided that the single minority enrollment (as defined by current federal categories) of no school will exceed 50 percent of the student body.

The first resolution also directed that racial imbalance in the schools be eliminated by the fall of the 1978-79 school year by:

1. Eliminating racial imbalance in at least 50 percent of those schools identified as racially imbalanced; or
2. Reducing racial imbalance by one-half in all schools identified as racially imbalanced; or
3. A combination of these measures.

The second board resolution directed that "racial imbalance be eliminated through the use of 'educationally sound strategies' designed to meet the educational needs of children in Seattle schools." The resolution set

October 1, 1977, for completion of specific desegregation plans for presentation at public hearings during the months of October and November. The final decision by the board regarding which plan to adopt was to be made on December 15, 1977.

The way was now clear for the intensive planning that had to be done if this timetable were to be met. The next three months, July, August, and September, were extremely busy as the district's desegregation office, the District-Wide Advisory Committee, and other involved groups began developing desegregation plans to meet the October 1 deadline.

By September 7, 1977, five plans were ready for review by the District-Wide Advisory Committee members, whose task it was to analyze the advantages and disadvantages of each plan. With school district assistance, five plans were refined and presented to the school board on September 30, 1977. Between October 13 and November 14, community meetings were held in each of the Seattle schools, providing opportunities for the public to become familiar with and comment on each of the proposed plans. An explanation of the five plans and their impact on the community was presented at each meeting by district administrators, assisted by the District-Wide Advisory Committee and the Urban League. Concurrently, a variety of community and civic organizations formed committees to review the plans in detail and forward their recommendations to the district.

Information received from citizens who attended community meetings, from civic groups and other individuals who chose to call or write the district, was carefully weighed in the development of the final plan. Basically, as formulated, the final plan linked about half of Seattle's 86 elementary schools for mandatory exchange of students, but at the same time allowed children options such as voluntary busing to magnet schools. About 9,200 students (including the 4,500 in the voluntary busing and magnet school programs) would ride buses in the fall of 1978. Up to 16,000 could be bused by the end of 1980. The cost of the plan was estimated to be from $13.6 to $17.2 million.

On December 14, 1977, a recently formed opposition group called Seattle Citizens for Voluntary Integration tried to obtain a temporary restraining order to stop the school board from taking its vote on the mandatory desegregation plan the following day. Spokesmen for the group said they opposed mandatory busing primarily because other cities that have tried it have ended up with greater segregation due to whites moving out of the city school districts. The group sought to delay the vote on the basis that the school board had not complied with an open public meetings law, and had engaged in unlawful delegation of authority and abuse of administrative due process. When the order was denied by a superior court judge, the group threatened the board with additional lawsuits.

In the main, these threats were not taken seriously; most respondents said the group had little support in the Seattle community. Of far more concern was the potential outcome of the school board vote since the position of at least three of the board members was uncertain. However, on December 15, 1977, the decision came after just one hour of debate and in the shortest board meeting of the year. In two historic 6-1 votes, the board approved the mandatory desegregation plan. Prolonged applause from the 150 persons that crowded the room, and official expressions of approval from civic leaders followed the vote. The superintendent announced that the planning had only just begun. The next step, he said, was for parents and civic leaders living in the neighborhoods of the schools involved in desegregation to propose refinements or modifications in the plan for any pair or triad if they disagreed with the board's plan. Citizens would have until January 31, 1978 to submit ideas.

The December 15, 1977, Seattle School board meeting was a milestone in a process of desegregation that had begun more than 20 years ago. By chance, this meeting coincided with the SRI site visit and we were able to observe the controlled composure of the few desegregation opponents present, the elation of dozens of desegregation proponents, and the exhausted relief of school board members following their historic vote. Seattle had chosen to desegregate its schools, voluntarily, but with relatively widespread use of mandatory reassignment and busing. The bullet had, at last, been bitten; Seattle had embarked on a whole new phase of its desegregation history.

IV FEDERAL LEGISLATED INVOLVEMENT IN DESEGREGATION

The United States Congress has enacted two major laws related to school desegregation that are currently in force:

1. The Civil Rights Act of 1964: The central provision of this act is Title VI, which prohibits racial discrimination by recipients of federal aid. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has assigned responsibility for the enforcement of that prohibition to the Office for Civil Rights (OCR). OCR's role includes both monitoring of and enforcing Title VI among federal aid recipients, including public elementary and secondary schools. Within recent years, OCR's purview has expanded to cover discrimination against women, limited-English-speaking students, the handicapped, and the aged, as well as racial discrimination. Title IV of the Civil Rights Act established a program of technical assistance and training for districts drawing up or implementing a required desegregation plan.

2. The Emergency School Aid Act of 1972: Through this act, the Congress provided for financial assistance to school districts (1) to meet special needs arising from school desegregation; (2) to encourage the voluntary reduction of minority group isolation in schools with substantial proportions of minority group students; and (3) to aid school children in overcoming the educational disadvantages of minority group isolation. ESAA funds may be used for a variety of purposes, including compensatory education, human relations, staff training, and community relations. They may not be used for busing. Until now, most ESAA funds have been used to support compensatory education efforts in desegregating schools.

The activities of these three programs (ESAA, CRA-Title IV, and OCR) in Seattle are the focus of this chapter.

Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA)

Funding and Scope

Seattle has been receiving funds under ESAA since 1973. The amounts and categorical sources of these funds are presented in Table 1. Funding under ESAA Basic has ranged from a quarter of a million dollars in 1976-77 to a high of almost $400,000 in 1973-74. In the current school year (1977-78), most of Seattle's funding ($1.3 million of a total of $2.5 million) has been under a new category of Special Projects grants established for districts voluntarily implementing desegregation plans. Substantial funding has also been received under the ESAA Pilot, Non-Profit Organization

Table 1

SEATTLE ESAA FUNDING

Seattle

ESAA

	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78
Basic	$312,317	$388,906	$ 0	$273,932	$ 0
Pilot	202,834	229,854	0	259,927	241,992
NPO	42,787	42,719	59,433	0	0
Special Projects	0	0	0	0	1,300,888 (Voluntary Programs) 922,328

1977-78 Funding by Program

	Voluntary Programs
Basic Skills Impact	$292,437
Minimum Competencies Assurance (Senior High Level)	161,734
Compensatory Education Desegregation Assistance	379,054
Alpha Mentor Project for Special Students	281,295
Ethnic Cultural Heritage	186,368
	Pilot
Minimum Competencies Assurance (Junior High Level)	$241,992
	Special Projects
Magnet Success Assurance	$922,328

and Special Project categories. No ESAA funds were received by the Seattle school district in FY 1975 because of the OCR ruling that year that the district was out of compliance with ESAA eligibility requirements (see pp. 50 to 53).

Federal funds reportedly have been and continue to be of great importance in the Seattle school district budget. All school district budgets in the State of Washington are generally derived two-thirds from state funds and one-third from annual passage of the local levy by voters within the school district; the local levy is the only local property tax support for the schools. Sixty percent voter approval is required for passage of these local levies, one of the highest required percentages in the nation for measures of this type. As a result, Seattle and other Washington state school districts annually face uncertainty regarding whether local voters will approve the levies, and risk the loss of a third or more of their operating budgets. The Washington state levy system has recently been challenged in court and may be ended. But in the meanwhile, the levy system provides a potent voter sanction of school district activities. There is fear that, as Seattle moves toward more active implementation of a voluntary desegregation plan, voters will express their displeasure by failing to pass the local levy, as they did in 1975 over this issue. If this should occur, federal funds will become even more crucial within the school district budget.

Despite the apparent budgetary importance of federal funds for the district, Seattle reportedly has been relatively unsuccessful in obtaining a large share of available ESAA funds. Within the school district there is a widespread perception that the reason for failure to obtain greater funding under ESAA is that Seattle is penalized for voluntary desegregation. It is perceived that points awarded for student transfers under the scales used for rating ESAA applications unfairly favor those districts undertaking massive forced busing in response to court orders. It is felt that the federal government should encourage voluntarily desegregating districts either by limiting the statistical advantage of districts with massive busing plans or by setting aside ESAA funds for which voluntarily desegregating districts would compete only with each other.

Outside observers counter these arguments by noting that ESAA regulations do not favor districts desegregating under court order and that the point system does not distinguish mandatory movement of students from voluntary transfers. In the past, Seattle's voluntary desegregation plans have resulted in the movement of relatively few students, and so Seattle has scored relatively low in this area. These outside observers also note that Seattle has tended to score low in proposal quality rating, the other major criterion on which ESAA applications are rated. As a result of low scores in these two areas of evaluation, Seattle has missed out on some funding opportunities, and some observers feel that substantial portions of funds received in recent years are due as much to Congressional influence and interference as to competitive factors. Under its new superintendent, the Seattle school district has begun to address the problem of proposal quality, and a new office to centralize the proposal preparation process has been organized. For purposes of ESAA awards Seattle will also benefit from an increased number of student transfers, since under its new voluntary desegregation plan, Seattle will be moving some 16,000 students, compared to the 2,000 voluntarily transferring in recent years.

Most of the ESAA funds Seattle has received to date have been invested in compensatory education programs. The dual rationale for this use of funds has been (1) to upgrade minority educational skills in preparation for voluntary transfer to majority schools, and (2) to provide compensatory services to majority schools receiving large numbers of minority voluntary transfers. The Seattle school district was recently made aware of the importance of compensatory education programs when it became the victim of a malpractice suit brought by a family whose son had been graduated from high school even though he was almost illiterate.

In the current school year, there are seven separate programs wholly or partially funded by ESAA. Five of these programs are compensatory, one is for gifted students, and one is in the area of human relations. The funding and scope of each of these programs are briefly described below, with compensatory education programs described first. Selected aspects of program activities are discussed in the following section.

The Basic Skills Impact Program is receiving $292,437 in ESAA Voluntary Program funds in the 1977-78 school year. Basic Skills Impact is implemented in Title I schools and supplements the Title I program there. The program is basically the same as that offered under Title I funding, except that Basic Skills Impact is more diagnostic and individualized in orientation. A major purpose is to prepare minority elementary students for voluntary transfer. Basic Skills Impact is in six minority-isolated elementary schools and serves about 100 students at each school. The funding provides salaries for nine teachers, six home study assistants, and one supervising teacher.

The junior high level Minimum Competencies Assurance Program (MinCAP) is receiving $241,992 in ESAA Pilot funds this year. The program is offered in minority-isolated junior high schools and serves to extend Title I beyond the seventh grade. A major purpose of the program is to help prepare junior high school minority students for voluntary transfer. MinCAP is in four junior high schools, three public, and one parochial, and serves a total of about 500 students in compensatory mathematics, reading, and English. The funding provides salaries for six teachers, two instructional assistants, and one half-time supervising teacher.

The senior high level MinCAP program is receiving $161,734 in ESAA Voluntary Program funds. The program is similar to that in the junior high schools. Two major program purposes are to insure that graduating students have the minimum educational skills necessary to operate in society, and to prepare students for voluntary transfer. MinCAP is in four minority-isolated high schools, three public and one parochial, each of which receives students from the MinCAP junior high schools. The program serves a total of about 500 students. The funding provides salaries for seven teachers and six instructional assistants.

The Compensatory Education Desegregation Assistance Program (CEDAP) is receiving $379,054 in ESAA Voluntary Program funds. The purpose of the program is to provide for the extension of services like those of Title I to magnet schools within the district, so that students voluntarily transferring will not be denied compensatory education. To avoid re-segregation of black students within compensatory education programs after transfer, the program requires 60 percent majority/40 percent minority enrollment quotas. CEDAP is in eight schools that have a large number of transfer students. The program serves about 400 to 450 students and covers all 12 grades. Funding provides salaries for eight teachers and 17.5 instructional assistants.

The Magnet Success Assurance Program is receiving $922,328 in ESAA Special Projects funds. The purpose of the program, which is new this year, is similar to that of the CEDAP program; it attempts to encourage the recruitment and retention of students transferring voluntarily into schools with magnet programs. The program is somewhat broader than the CEDAP program, however, because it provides counseling as well as compensatory education in support of voluntary desegregation. Magnet Success is in 31 schools with magnet programs, 19 elementary schools, six junior high schools, and six senior high schools. Funding provides salaries for 16 teachers and 15 counselors, who are distributed on a part-time basis among the 31 school sites. In addition, funding provides salaries for 37 instructional assistants, two bilingual specialists, a community coordinator, and a program supervisor.

The Alpha/Mentor Project for Special Students is receiving $281,295 in ESAA Voluntary Program funds. The Alpha/Mentor project is not compensatory education, but rather seeks to serve student needs on the opposite end of the intellectual spectrum. A major purpose of the program is to provide special education for gifted minority students as well as for gifted majority students. The Alpha/Mentor progam is in two elementary schools, two junior high schools, and serves two public and three parochial high schools. At the junior and senior high school levels, the Alpha/Mentor program is in some of the same schools as the MinCAP program. Altogether, about 600 students are enrolled in the program. Funding provides salaries for eight teachers, eight instructional assistants, and one supervising teacher.

The Ethnic Cultural Heritage Program is receiving $186,368 in ESAA Voluntary Program funds. The major activities of this program are the development and introduction of educational materials which promote ethnic pride and tolerance. In Seattle, these materials are used in 24 elementary schools by about 2,500 students. A recent program expansion to the secondary level has introduced new materials to about 250 students in eight junior high schools. ESAA funding provides salaries for ten of the 17 paid program staff members, with most of the remaining funds being provided by the school district.

Activities

Selected aspects of activities in the Seattle school programs funded wholly or partially by ESAA are described in this section. The program aspects selected for description were those which appeared most significant and interesting. Each program is described separately, following the same order of presentation as the preceding section.

Basic Skills Impact: The Basic Skills Impact program is one of the oldest of the ESAA-funded programs in Seattle, having been initiated in 1973. After two years, the program was interrupted for 1975-76, because of OCR's noncompliance ruling, but it is now in its second year of operation following the interruption. The interruption was most significant for the disruptive effect it had on cooperative working relationships established between program and regular staff at schools. When funding was reinstated, however, the program apparently resumed without significant problems.

Although the Basic Skills Impact program is somewhat more diagnostic and prescriptive in its orientation to compensatory education than Title I, for all practical purposes the two programs are identical. In some schools, the programs split content areas, with one program taking reading and the other math, while in other schools the programs cover both content areas but serve different students. There is no competition for students, as the need is great enough for both programs.

Both Basic Skills and Title I use a small group instructional format. Students leave their regular class and teacher to receive program services. An average of seven students attends each 30-minute period so that each teacher or instructional aide is interacting with a maximum of three or four students at a time. There is no social stigma attached to attending the program, as the children love the individual attention received.

Scheduling is somewhat of a problem, as it is difficult with a "pull-out" program not to interrupt the regular classroom activities.

Retraining of regular school teaching staff is an emphasized program activity. The training is conducted by the Basic Skills teaching staff and consists primarily of instruction in the use of diagnostic testing and the design of remedies for problems measured. The training is conducted on an individual basis in half-day sessions. Teachers either volunteer for the training or are recommended by the school principal.

Home study assistants play an important role in program activities. One of their original objectives was to recruit parents to come in to the school as voluntary tutors, but at this they were unsuccessful. They have been able to get some parents to use tutoring materials with their children at home, however. A common strategy is for the home study assistant to visit the homes of all of the students in the program, and then out of the 60 or so visited, to select for further contact about 20 where parent support and cooperation are evident. In cases where parent support is not evident, the home study assistant spends additional time with the child at school, since there are not sufficient program resources or repeated home visits to attempt to build support among uncooperative parents.

Instead of volunteer parent tutors, a Cross Age Tutoring Program has been implemented. High school students who are interested in becoming teachers volunteer as tutors and receive academic credit but no pay. Last year, the high school students had to provide their own transportation, but during 1977-78 the program planned to provide transportation expenses with reallocated unspent funds that accrued because of a late program start.

MinCAP (Junior High Level and Senior High Level): Activities of the two MinCAP programs are described together because of the programs' similarity to each other. In structure, both are also similar to the Basic Skills Impact program in that they are "pull-out" programs and feature very small class sizes. In some schools, these small classes all take place in different areas of one large room, such as a former school library, while in other schools, separate classrooms are used.

The intent of the MinCAP programs is to pull a student out for compensatory help and then have him leave the program and return to his regular class schedule as soon as possible. Scheduling considerations sometimes constrain freedom of movement, however, and students are retained in the program longer than necessary simply because they cannot be scheduled out at a particular time.

Other scheduling problems are created by the common pattern of late program start because of late funding notification and time-consuming hiring procedures. After the start of the school year it is more difficult to pull students out because existing schedule arrangements are disrupted. Also, rescheduling of students after the start of the school year tends to exacerbate any social stigma associated with program participation. Students are more embarrassed to be pulled out of regular classes to go to the "dumb class" after the start of the school year than if they had been scheduled into the program from the beginning of the year.

One important MinCAP program activity undertaken this year is the initiation of field trips to support and extend classroom education. At the high school level, 72 field trips are planned; each student will have the opportunity of participating in eight trips. The idea is to design class activities that build towards and then follow up on field trip activities. For example, a visit to a newspaper or radio station might be preceded by exercises in finding the site on a map and budgeting transportation to reach it. Follow-up might include class discussions of how reading and math were used in the job performances observed.

CEDAP: The CEDAP program is in its first year in the Seattle school district. It is similar to the other compensatory education programs in that it mirrors Title I services and curriculum, uses the "pull-out" model, and is organized around pupil/teacher ratios of 3 or 4 to 1. CEDAP differs from other compensatory programs in that it is usually associated with magnet programs and introduces compensatory education to some schools, such as high schools, which had not had compensatory education previously.

Seattle's magnet programs exist to a great extent as "schools within schools," and the associated CEDAP programs share some of the advantages and disadvantages of this structure. Each of the magnet programs is built around a special program area, such as art or science. Enrollment in a magnet program is, of course, voluntary, with 50 percent of the students transferring from minority-isolated areas of the city, 35 percent coming from the area around the school, and 15 percent from other locations. The students are isolated, at least while they are in the classroom, from the rest of the school. The staff of the magnet tends to be new and their isolation from the rest of the faculty is occasionally exacerbated by regular staff resentment of the relative wealth of the magnet program in new ideas and equipment.

In starting up, the CEDAP program had some difficulty in enrolling enough students and in arranging "pull-out" scheduling at the high school level. These problems have been solved, but solution of another enrollment problem, that of maintaining a required majority/minority split of 60 percent/40 percent, has been difficult. Often the quota has not reflected the actual distribution of need for the program in a student population, as it has been difficult to find enough majority students to enroll, while the needs of some voluntarily transferring minority students have gone unmet because their program quota was full.

Magnet Success Assurance: This is also the first year for the Magnet Success program in Seattle. In fact, because of late funding and program cutbacks and reorganization, the program was still just getting underway at the time of the SRI site visit to Seattle in December, 1977. The plan had been to field a team consisting of a counselor, basic skills mathematics and reading teachers, and a community organizer at each targeted magnet school. But less than half of the anticipated funds were received, and drastic cutbacks have meant that staff could only be distributed on a half-time basis among the magnet schools. The program is not yet well known in the district, and has not had time to produce any significant impact.

Alpha/Mentor: The Alpha/Mentor program for gifted students originally started from a state-funded pilot in one elementary school. Receipt of

ESAA funding for the last two years has allowed expansion of the program to include additional minority students and to extend the program to secondary level students. The existance of the program is a big factor in the voluntary transfer of majority students. The majority enrollment quota of 60 percent is frequently oversubscribed, while it has sometimes been difficult to fill the 40 percent minority enrollment quota.

The program is usually scheduled for students as a three-hour block of time once a week. At the elementary and junior high school levels, students are mixed across grade levels, although there is some grouping by ability. Students in the program generally work on individual projects, and there is relatively extensive use of community resource persons. For example, in one segment of the program, several black architects provide assistance with student projects.

Selection of students for participation in the Alpha/Mentor program is a long, complicated process. From its inception, the program has tried to be comprehensive in its definition of gifted; selection criteria have tried to encompass a variety of artistic and leadership qualities, rather than simple dependence on achievement test scores or grades. Measurement of these additional qualities has necessarily been (to some extent) subjective. The selection process is difficult, particularily when parental pressure for admission is present, as is often the case among middle class majority student candidates. Recently there were 40 openings for 192 applicants. Once a student is selected, he ordinarily remains in the program year after year.

On the high school level, the students themselves apply for admission, and so to some extent the burden of preparing their case for admittance falls on them. In grades K through 8, the students are selected by others. Teacher input is considered important but is given no more than one-third of selection points. Psychometric test results are also weighted heavily. Additional information is sought about student candidates from a parent questionnaire concerning hobbies and interests.

At the elementary level, peer input is considered a very valid and useful part of the selection process. In grades K through 3, a story describing a hypothetical situation is presented and then the children are asked which of their classmates they would nominate as leaders in the various situations described. In grades 4 through 6, a sociogram is constructed, based on childrens' reports of who they would like to relate to in various situations and who best fits paragraphs describing gifted qualities.

Provision is also made for special nomination of Alpha/Mentor program candidates by school staff members such as custodians and cafeteria workers. Participation of these staff members is not extensive, but there have been instances of qualified children identified in this way who might otherwise have been overlooked.

Evaluation of student achievement in the Alpha/Mentor program is almost as difficult as selection, because of the program's determination to rely on comprehensive, relatively culture-free measurement. At present, the program staff is searching for a non-verbal intelligence test which accurately measures levels of cognitive ability.

Ethnic Cultural Heritage: The Ethnic Cultural Heritage program in Seattle started in 1970 as a Japanese-American consciousness-raising effort. At that time, all staff members were volunteers. The focus of the program had broadened to "Asian-American" by 1973, when the first ESAA funding was received. The program, which now covers all of Seattle's ethnic groups, has received partial funding from ESAA in every subsequent year, with the exception of the year Seattle was ruled ineligible for ESAA funds.

For the past eight years the program has focused on development of elementary level teaching materials that stress tolerance and ethnic awareness and pride. These materials have been introduced into the Seattle schools through workshops and training sessions. This year, the program has initiated the development of similar materials for the junior high school level. An attempt is also being made to evaluate the elementary school materials so that USOE National Diffusion Network validation and national distribution can be obtained.

Administration and Staffing

At the present time, all but one of the ESAA-funded programs in the Seattle school district are under the overall supervision of a single individual. The one exception is the Ethnic Cultural Heritage Program, which exists somewhat independently from the school district. The centralized pattern of administration is a recent innovation in response to requests from federal program officers. In the past, administrative responsibility had been fragmented along individual program boundaries and it had been difficult to determine accountability for overall program management. The reorganization has apparently resulted in successful solution of this problem.

Administrative responsibility for supervision of ESAA program staff performance rests primarily with school building principals. The building principals are also primarily responsible for hiring decisions, and they interview any new staff candidates. Second-level program staff supervision is performed by the individual program supervisors and by the director of ESAA programs. Most of the certificated teaching positions in ESAA programs have been filled by existing school staff. Principals have tended to nominate members of their own teaching staff with special skill or interest in compensatory or gifted education. The regular teaching positions are then filled by persons new to the school staff.

Federal programs, including ESAA, have been an important way of bringing new minority staff members into the Seattle schools. This is because enrollment in the Seattle schools has declined from about 100,000 in 1964 to about 60,000 in 1977, and, consequently, the hiring of new teachers by the district has been a relatively infrequent occurrence. There is a very strong teachers' association in Seattle which does not permit teacher layoffs. The teaching staff has been reduced primarily through attrition, and surplus staff members have been accommodated by decreasing class sizes from an average of 35 to an average of 25.

For a new teacher, a major route to a certificated regular staff position in the district has been through an instructional assistant position in an ESAA program. Instructional and home study assistants have consistently been hired from a large pool of highly qualified people who cannot get a regular teaching position with the district because none are available. The instructional assistants in Seattle are, in fact, almost always as well qualified as the regular certificated teachers. This fact is acknowledged at many ESAA-funded program sites where the instructional assistants are given their own classrooms, with teaching responsibilities virtually equal to those of the regular certificated program staff. In these situations, the district gives the instructional assistants responsibilities and duties that are not commensurate with their rank and pay, but few complain because an opportunity is presented for them to demonstrate their teaching abilities. After a year or more of successful experience, some of these persons then become teachers in name as well as fact by moving into a regular certificated position as an opening occurs within an ESAA-funded program or elsewhere in the district.

The relationship among the teachers and instructional or home study assistants in the ESAA programs is apparently quite often a good one. Frequently, the program staff develops a certain group identity as a result of shared interests or background, or simply because of the nature of the program setting with its small groups of students. This group identity can generate an additional excitement and "esprit de corps" which make colleague interactions more rewarding than in the regular school setting, at least in the opinion of some ESAA program staff members.

Problems in program staffing apparently arise primarily from outside factors. Prime among these outside factors is the funding schedule. Funding notification and the resulting hiring authorizations are frequently not available until late in the summer or even after school has started in the fall. By this time, many of the ESAA staff from the previous year have been offered other positions with the district. Frequently, these positions are accepted for the greater security they offer, even though the staff member would be willing to return to the ESAA-funded program if he could be sure it would be funded. Both certificated staff and instructional assistants tend to disappear in this way over the summer. By the time ESAA hiring is initiated, sometimes only "leftovers" and "less qualified" people are left in the district's certificated teacher hiring pool.

Aside from the qualifications of the people available for hiring late by the ESAA-funded programs, just the fact that they are new to the program is usually a disadvantage. Previous staff members have had at least a year's experience and training with the special demands of the program. For example, there were very few teachers in the Alpha/Mentor program who had had any previous training in working with gifted students, but experience in weekly Friday afternoon workshop sessions helped to fill this gap over the course of a year. This year, however, only one certificated teacher and one instructional assistant were able to return to the program, and so training for the replacement staff had to start all over again. In the Basic Skills Impact program, many of the home study assistants were unable to return, and a year of building personal rapport with selected families was lost.

The staffing situation is not entirely bleak, however. Sometimes ESAA staff members are able to transfer out of other jobs they may have accepted and back into the ESAA program once it begins hiring. In some cases the arrangements are made by tenacious and dedicated staff members, while in others principals are very helpful. For example, one principal is able to move his MinCAP program staff members into regular teaching positions by "surplussing" other staff members with less seniority or by using position openings. When the MinCAP program starts he then can transfer the MinCAP staff back in and hire new staff for the regular positions that are vacated. Another principal has been able to start instructional assistants working on something else until he can transfer them back into their ESAA program.

Another problem interacts with the funding schedule to produce difficulties in staffing ESAA-funded programs. In 1975, the Seattle school district fell under OCR censure for its pattern of majority/minority staffing. To meet the requirements of OCR the district has, in the opinion of some outside observers, gone to the opposite extreme. Quota requirements on staffing patterns are now so rigid that in practice they often amount to staffing quotas on an individual school building basis. Staffing quota restrictions have produced the following kinds of problems:

--The Asian staff quota is concentrated in a bilingual program so that few Asians can be hired to serve as role models in ESAA programs.

--The entire minority quota of one school is filled by the Asian staff of a bilingual program so that black staff members cannot be hired to serve as role models in an ESAA program in the school.

--The entire minority quota of a school is filled by persons in regular staff positions by the time hiring for an ESAA program is initiated so that minority persons cannot be considered for the ESAA staff positions, even if they are returning program staff members from the previous year.

--A minority regular staff member is hired, exceeding the building quota and threatening to force out a minority ESAA staff member with less seniority.

In general, both the quota system and late funding tend to work against the establishment of staff continuity in an ESAA-funded program. As a result, the program often suffers, because staff are not interchangeable. There is a team setting to much of the compensatory teaching, so compatibility is important between teachers, and between teachers and instructional assistants. Relationships established with students, parents and non-program school staff and administration are disrupted. Often the right person for the job in an ESAA program is hired elsewhere earlier or does not meet quota requirements.

Parent and Student Involvement

Seattle has parent or citizen advisory committees associated with its ESAA programs at several levels. Some schools, for example, have a joint parent advisory group covering all programs at the school, which may include Bilingual and Title I as well as ESAA-funded compensatory education. At the district level, some of the separate ESAA programs, such as CEDAP, have separate citizen advisory committees, and there is also a district-wide ESAA Citizens Advisory Committee which covers all ESAA programs. The ESAA Citizens Advisory Committee consists of about 20 members, meets monthly, and has assisted with proposal preparation and the monitoring and evaluation of ESAA programs.

Dissatisfaction with the role of the parent or citizen advisory committees is relatively widespread. After initial enthusiasm wanes, the turnout is generally poor for committee meetings at the school level and for the district-wide separate program committees. Of all the advisory committees it is felt that only the district-wide ESAA Citizens Advisory Committee has any real role and authority; the other committees are seen as basically redundant. But attendance is often poor even at the ESAA Citizens Advisory Committee meetings because of member disillusionment and a feeling that the committee is only a "rubber stamp to satisfy federal requirements."

There is some interest in increasing the base of authority of parent and citizen involvement by consolidating committees. School and separate ESAA program committees would be deemphasized under this strategy, and even the ESAA Citizens Advisory Committee would be subordinated to an overall, cross-funding source "umbrella committee" that would, because of its consolidated nature, presumably exercize greater authority and influence within the school district.

The Seattle school district's experience with student advisory committees associated with ESAA programs has also been discouraging, and one solution proposed is similar to that proposed for the citizens advisory committee: The creation of a single, district-wide student advisory committee. Five students, one from each of the city's major ethnic groups, are already members of the ESAA Citizens Advisory Committee but have rarely attended meetings.

There are two major problems associated with the ESAA student advisory committees at the school level: (1) Ethnic quota requirements make it difficult to constitute membership; (2) There is nothing for the student advisory committee to do. The requirement for ethnic balance of committee members is basically incompatible with the requirement that members be elected, especially when, as is the case in some Seattle schools, five ethnic groups must be represented. The requirement for ethnic balance virtually mandates pre-screening if not outright selection by school officials. Generally, the committee's faculty advisor has selected members from among volunteers and then the student government has voted to approve his selection. Ethnic restrictions have meant that some potentially good members have had to be kept off the committee, and some students have been appointed who otherwise had nothing to do with the ESAA program involved.

The ethnic quota problem has been more easily overcome than the committee function problem, however. One student advisory committee has mounted a multi-ethnic talent show, while others have run a tutoring program and a survey of student atittudes towards the ESAA program. But basically the ESAA student advisory committees have not been able to find a function and attendance at meetings has suffered accordingly. In one important potential area of function, the reduction of social tension between ethnic groups, the ESAA student advisory committees are redundant with student government and other student groups already addressing this issue.

The ESAA program requirement for student advisory committees stands, however, and federal officers monitoring programs such as MinCAP have urged the school district to continue efforts to make such committees successful. This year, stipends for faculty advisors have been included in some program budgets, and it is hoped that the $1000 or so involved will provide sufficient incentive to advisors to lead their student advisory committees toward some meaningful role.

Perceptions of ESAA

ESAA is generally highly regarded in the Seattle school district. The role of the funding in helping keep community attention focused on desegregation is appreciated, and the resources provided are seen as an appropriate reward for voluntary desegregation efforts. Seattle is aware that voluntary desegregation, with its necessary emphasis on quality education, is an expensive proposition. As the scale of Seattle's voluntary desegregation expands next year, it is anticipated that a great amount of funds will be necessary to provide support, and the federal government is looked upon as the prime source of these additional funds.

There is very little self-doubt or questioning in Seattle regarding the uses to which the school district has put ESAA funds. The compensatory education programs are seen as meeting a very vital need; at the secondary level, for example, ESAA funds in many cases provide the only means of keeping some students in school long enough to acquire the minimal educational skills necessary to operate in society. The program for gifted students and the ethnic cultural heritage materials development program both originated from local or state funding and continue to receive funds from these sources; the additional support ESAA provides to these locally developed programs is seen as entirely proper.

Negative perceptions associated with ESAA are directed primarily outside the school district to regulatory and administrative aspects of the funding. The late schedule of the funding is resented for the staffing problems it causes. The early deadline for proposal submission is resented because it hampers coherent planning. The regulations regarding student and parent involvement in ESAA advisory committees are seen as unnecessarily complex. Finally, the recent centralization of regional program officers in Washington is seen as an undesirable barrier to open communication. The Seattle school district is accustomed to having ESAA program officers in the regional office conveniently located in Seattle, and it is feared that the relocation to Washington will favor eastern cities at the expense of western cities. It is also felt that the centralization will produce an insensitivity to local needs and conditions and that smaller districts which can't afford to send representatives to Washington frequently will suffer.

All of these problems could be mitigated, and some solved, if the period of funding were extended from one to three or more years. Persons associated with ESAA programs in Seattle were almost uniformly in favor of extension of the period of funding. A longer period of funding would permit more careful planning, expanded opportunity for training and development of program staff, and a more sustained impact on student achievement.

CRA-Title IV

Title IV grantees serving the Seattle School District are the Northwest General Assistance Center (Type A: Race and Sex) at Portland State University in Portland, Oregon, and the General Assistance Center (Type B: Language Discrimination, or "Lau") at the Northwest Regional Laboratory in Portland. The district also has received direct LEA grants almost continually since 1968.

Northwest General Assistance Center: Portland State University.

The Title IV General Assistance Center (GAC-A) at Portland State University addresses issues of race and sex discrimination in school districts in three states: Washington, Idaho and Oregon. The GAC-A was first funded three years ago at Portland State, although the region had been served by a GAC from Seattle University prior to that time. During the first year of its operations in 1975, the GAC-A in Portland received about $300,000. During the second year, the budget was increased to about $350,000 with an additional mid-year supplement targeted for the Seattle School District. During the current fiscal year, the center was initially awarded $486,900 for its operations; this budget was also increased by $45,000 targeted specifically for the Seattle School District. In its first year of operation the center employed five professionals with additional clerical and administrative staff; the number of professionals on the staff has now increased to eight.

During the first year of operation, the GAC-A directed its resources towards multicultural training and staff development. The center continues to provide some training to teachers to increase awareness of multicultural and non-sexist teaching methods, but the thrust of its activity has shifted in response to what staff members perceive as an increased sophistication about desegregation-related issues in the school districts; the center now provides less training and more technical assistance regarding compliance with federal requirements. In keeping with its shift of focus the recipients of the center's services have also changed. While activities were previously aimed at teachers, paraprofessionals, students, and building administrators, current activities focus on school boards, school superintendents, and district central staff.

Within the three states it serves, the GAC-A is responsible for 731 school districts. Many of these districts are small, rural and isolated, factors which sometimes hamper the delivery of direct GAC-A services. Districts are notified of GAC-A workshops and conferences by periodic newsletters. The center also responds to requests for service from individual districts. Last year, the center sent a self-assessment form to all districts in the region, which generated requests for direct assistance from 71 school districts. In light of the center's recent shift in focus, it should be noted that these requests generally involved staff training in the areas of desegregation and sex discrimination. (However, many districts already involved in the desegregation process did request technical assistance.)

The GAC-A concentrates its service efforts on those districts with segregated populations, and those out of compliance with Title IX requirements. The center also assists districts in meeting Lau remedies, though only a small portion of its budget can be allotted to this area because the GAC-B is primarily responsible for Lau issues. The GAC-A prefers to develop close relationships with individual districts, providing them with continuing services rather than conducting impersonal, region-wide, one-shot workshops.

Involvement in Seattle: The Seattle School District is the largest district within the GAC-A's service area and is perceived by the center as having the greatest need for assistance. During the GAC's first year of operation direct contact with Seattle was minimal, however. Some money was provided to Seattle to hire consultants, primarily in the areas of curriculum and women's rights, and to pay for some staff development activities. But no GAC staff members worked directly with Seattle that year.

The minimal contact between the Seattle district and the GAC was the result of a strained relationship which began when Portland State was writing the original proposal for the GAC-A. At that time the Seattle School District was supporting Seattle University's competing bid for a GAC-A and the district refused to cooperate with Portland State in its proposal effort. As a result, by the time Portland State won the contract its relationship with Seattle was a cool one.

During the past year and a half there has been more contact between the Seattle district and the GAC-A, although tension between the two continues. Last year, the GAC-A was informed that extra funds were available to provide assistance to Seattle if it produced a proposal quickly (within one or two days). The center cooperated with the district in writing this proposal, which was funded the next day. The GAC-A used these funds to hire a consultant to provide assistance to Seattle's middle schools, which were, at that time, the central focus of the district's desegregation efforts. The assistance consisted primarily of workshops and in-service training. GAC-A funds were also used to provide workshops for librarians, and the GAC-A assisted the district in writing its ESAA proposal.

For the current year GAC-A assistance efforts are being directed at community involvement activities in the wake of Seattle's adoption of a voluntary desegregation plan. GAC-A staff are planning to conduct a survey of parents and communities to help determine potential problems in desegregation implementation next year. The GAC-A will also assist with staff development needs as the new desegregation plan is implemented.

Perceptions. Within the Seattle School District perceptions of the GAC-A vary. Respondents who had direct contact with the GAC-A's workshops had generally positive impressions of the center. The GAC-A Affirmative Action workshops, in particular, were well received. Also, school administrators who participated in workshops for the middle schools in the past year responded favorably. They appreciated the "openness and responsiveness" of GAC-A staff. They also felt that the GAC-A had played a valuable role as liaison between the middle schools and the central district administration in setting up the middle school workshops.

At the district administration level, however, respondents generally had a negative view of the GAC-A. The GAC-A services were described as neither useful nor sophisticated. Two respondents felt that GAC-A consultant services were a "rip-off" of government funds. Another criticism was leveled at the quality of the human relations training provided by the GAC-A: The GAC-A was accused of hiring people with academic degrees who were not necessarily good human relations trainers. At least one district administrator was also critical of the GAC-A's plans for community surveys. This administrator felt that sending people out to ask the community about the district's desegregation plans might generate controversy; if done at all, such a sensitive activity should be handled by the individual schools involved.

The GAC-A staff is aware of the district administrators' negative opinion of them. They partially attribute this to the conflict between the GAC-A and the district over how Seattle-targeted funds were to be used. From the perspective of the GAC-A staff, the district was expected to maintain a "banking relationship" with the GAC-A, calling upon it for consultant funds as necessary. However, when the GAC-A began demanding more accountability in the district's use of these funds and an evaluation of their impact, the district grew resentful. To the GAC-A staff, it seemed that, basically, the district resented having Seattle-targeted funds funneled through the GAC-A rather than having these funds directly available for use at the discretion of the district.

Other constraints on GAC-A operations also create problems. Prime among these is the one-year funding period. In the opinion of GAC-A staff members, desegregation is a multi-faceted problem which does not lend itself to easy solutions that can be accomplished within a year; only a longer funding period can provide the necessary continuity. A one-year funding cycle also drains away too much energy in the writing of proposals for refunding.

The GAC-A staff also felt that the wrong criteria are used to evaluate service center operations. GAC success is measured too heavily on the basis of quantitative criteria, such as the number of districts served, and more qualitative criteria of evaluation are needed. Quantitative criteria tend to encourage the use of workshops, which reach a large number of districts at once, rather than assistance to districts on an individual basis. The GAC-A in Portland has been moving away from a workshop approach because small, rural districts cannot afford to send people, and because they feel that workshops tend to serve individuals who are relatively superfluous in their districts. The GAC-A staff feels that the evaluation format tends to penalize them for their reduced use of workshops, without adequately giving credit for the 350 person-field days the GAC annually devotes to assisting districts on an individual basis.

Another problem perceived by the GAC-A staff is that GACs are housed in universities, institutions that traditionally have not been associated with desegregation. GAC-A respondents also felt that the center's credibility with districts suffered because of their link to an institution of higher learning. (They try to overcome this difficulty by hiring staff with community ties.) In general, they feel, the universities are the primary beneficiary of the GAC-university association because of the overhead contribution that the GAC provides.

The Center for Bilingual Education: Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory. The Center for Bilingual Education is funded through Title IV as a General Assistance Center (GAC-B, Language Discrimination). It is mandated to serve school districts in Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Alaska, Hawaii, Guam, and the American trust territories. The GAC-B began in 1975 with a staff of about seven professionals and four secretaries, but staff has been reduced slightly since then.

The GAC-B's first responsibility is to assist districts that are not in compliance with the Lau decision, which requires that districts must identify students with limited English-speaking ability and provide to them special instructional services. The center also serves districts that are in potential noncompliance with Lau and those that voluntarily want to improve their services to students from non-English-speaking cultures.

Although in 1975 the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) found the Seattle school district to be in noncompliance with the Lau decision, contact between the district and the GAC-B has been minimal. The GAC-B assisted Seattle in an initial needs assessment, but the district has never contacted the center for further assistance. (According to GAC guidelines the center cannot provide assistance to a district without a request.)

Seattle's failure to contact the Center for Bilingual Education may be explained by the fact that some Seattle district staff view the center as an "arm of OCR." Also, the district thought the GAC-B would work only on maintenance plans for bilingual-bicultural education, while the district preferred a more transitional approach. (The GAC-B staff did indeed express a strong preference for a maintenance approach to bilingual education, as permitted by OCR's Lau remedies.)

The staff of the GAC-B share with the staff of the GAC-A a strong dislike of the one-year funding cycle. They feel this short cycle hampers their activities because they cannot hire staff for more than one year, and, as a result, staff turnover is high.

LEA Grants. With the exception of 1970 and 1975, the Seattle school district has received direct LEA funding each year since 1968. These grants typically have paid the salaries of a desegregation specialist and his secretarial staff. The present desegregation specialist has held this position since the beginning of the 1976-77 school year. This person has been very active in drawing up the district's desegregation plan and in mobilizing community support. The work of the desegregation specialist was a crucial factor in the board's recent decision to adopt a voluntary desegregation plan.

It thus appears that the Title IV LEA grant made a significant contribution to Seattle's desegregation effort. One respondent, however, disagreed with this assessment: This person felt that using federal funds for such a position was wasteful of such funds because they did not really add to the district's desegregation effort and because a large district like Seattle would have funded such a position even without federal assistance.

Another respondent believed that the desegregation specialist played an important role but could have been more effective if he had been given greater authority within the district administration. This person felt that the specialist should have reported directly to the superintendent and should have had some line responsibility for the district's desegregation effort. His status as "director," it was felt, had placed him in a merely advisory role and thus severely limited his effectiveness.

The Office for Civil Rights

Activities

The Seattle school district is within the jurisdiction of the Region X OCR office, located in Seattle. In addition to Washington, Region X's jurisdiction includes Alaska, Idaho, and Oregon. The Elementary and Secondary Education branch of the office is staffed by ten investigators, up from five investigators two years ago. This is one of the smaller OCR offices, reflecting the relatively low minority population in the region.

When the staff was at its smaller size two years ago each member was assigned primarily to one state, so that Alaska, Idaho, and Oregon each had one OCR specialist and Washington had two. With the increase in personnel, this policy was temporarily abandoned, and staff were assigned to cases mostly on the basis of availability. Currently, the office is returning to the state-assignment strategy. We were told that each staff member has also "tended" to develop an area of expertise, and case assignments have taken this factor into account as well as location or availability.

Sources in OCR claim that almost 90 percent of the cases they handle arise through complaints. Most of these cases result in voluntary corrections after a "long" negotiation period: Though some cases can be handled "very quickly," one respondent noted, others are as much as three years old with no settlement reached as yet. Generally, cases dealing with a variety of issues or in areas with unclear national policy (such as Title IX) take longest to settle. Lack of OCR staff is also felt to be a factor in the duration of many cases. Because of the backlog, the office has recently been attempting to conciliate complaints without a prior OCR investigation.

OCR respondents stated that they prefer to obtain voluntary compliance by the districts, and they "beg, plead, threaten and cajole" districts into these voluntary agreements. Cutting off districts' funds is seen as a last resort, and, indeed, Region X has reached the point of a hearing only twice--once in Alaska and once in Seattle. (The details of the Seattle case will be described below.)

The nature of the complaints handled varies but certain trends, fostered by recent legislation, are evident. For the past few years, cases regarding limited-English-speaking students have predominated (following the Lau decision), followed in frequency by women's rights cases (under Title IX of the Education Amendments Act of 1972). Beginning in the fall of 1977, cases involving the handicapped have predominated, reflecting the passage of Section 504 of P.L. 94-142.

OCR-initiated compliance reviews are performed either because review of the 101 and 102 survey forms indicate possible non-compliance or because the central OCR office in Washington selects the district for particular attention. Generally, however, responding to complaints requires so much of the staff's time that few compliance reviews are performed.

Involvement with Seattle

OCR's major involvement with the Seattle school district occurred during 1975 and 1976. The involvement began in the spring of 1975 when OCR reviewed Seattle's eligibility for ESAA funds and determined that the district was ineligible. Non-compliance with eligibility requirements was cited in three areas: 1) racially discriminatory staff assignment; 2) inadequate identification of and service to students with limited English-speaking ability; and 3) failure to maintain local fiscal effort. These findings of non-compliance were conveyed to the district in June 1975, and a year-long period of negotiations between OCR and the Seattle school district followed.

Several district respondents recalled that one of the district's first responses was to contact their elected representatives in Washington, D.C., so from the beginning this group was more or less actively involved. Evidence of this involvement is seen in a July 22, 1975, letter from U.S. Representative Joel Pritchard to the U.S. Comptroller

General, asking the General Accounting Office (GAO) to investigate OCR's disapproval of ESAA funds for Seattle. (The GAO did investigate and on April 7, 1976, produced a 24-page report summarizing the information they had obtained.) Another indication of congressional involvement is seen in a letter to Senator Henry Jackson from the HEW Region X director, on May 28, 1976. The letter was written in response to a conversation the previous day between these two men and contains the director's "assessment of current issues involving the Department of HEW and the Seattle School District." Verbal reports from both district and OCR sources indicated that informal involvement of congressional members also occurred throughout the course of the negotiations.

Following the June 1975 notices of non-compliance, a series of meetings took place in Washington, D.C., and in Seattle, attended by district representatives, regional and central OCR staff, and regional and central Office of General Counsel (OGC) staff. On the issue of maintenance of fiscal effort there was never any disagreement. This difficulty had arisen from the school levy failure in the spring of 1975. It was overcome by an appropriation for levy relief passed by the Washington state legislature in August 1975.

On the two remaining issues the district essentially refused to admit that it was in noncompliance, arguing that its staff assignments and its program for limited English-speaking students were based on "sound educational policy." District representatives also questioned the legality or reasonableness of OCR procedures and regulations, claiming that they had not received a fair hearing. The district refused to apply for a waiver because such a step was seen as "constituting admissions of guilt with respect to the allegations of discrimination."

OCR's position was that, regardless of the reasons behind the district's staffing assignment patterns and its programs for limited English-speaking students, the facts (which were not refuted by the district) indicated illegal discrimination against minorities. OCR representatives defended their procedures and policies and maintained that the only way for the district to be determined eligible for ESAA was to file for a waiver and then submit plans for the prompt correction of the two areas of noncompliance.

By the end of July the district had taken no action either to apply for a waiver of ineligibility or to otherwise remedy the faculty assignment violation or the limited English-speaking (Lau) violation, and OCR informed the district that it was now also in violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. Citing Adams v. Weinburger, OCR declared that it had been "ordered by the Federal Courts to initiate prompt Title VI compliance/enforcement activity." The Office gave the district 30 days to submit compliance plans.

In August 1975, the district sued OCR for illegal determination of ESAA ineligibility and sought a preliminary injunction to prevent the withholding of funds. The injunction was not granted, and no further steps were taken to pursue the lawsuit.

Throughout the fall and winter of 1975-76, negotiations continued, but by February OCR decided that very little progress had been made toward adequate compliance plans and began proceedings to defer the district's eligibility for any Federal assistance for elementary and secondary education. This move was made under authority of Title VI. Finally, in May 1976, with the district's 1976-77 ESAA application having been declared ineligible and with Title VI hearings about to begin, a Memorandum of Understanding on staff assignments was released and OCR temporarily lifted the deferral of Federal funds. According to the memo, minority staff were to be distributed proportionally across schools, but individual exemptions to this could be negotiated. In July, the staff assignment issue ended with the granting of 36 out of about 70 applications for exemption.

The Lau issue was settled through a Memorandum of Understanding issued in June 1976 which stated that the district would comply with Lau v. Nichols. An HEW Region X news release on June 15, 1976, stated that, "according to the School District's compliance plan, the student with special language instruction needs will be identified, tested and placed in a level of English language instruction in keeping with the degree of need."

Although the signing of the Lau memo resulted in the lifting of the Federal funding deferral, it did not result in eligibility for ESAA. On the contrary, review of the district's 1976-77 ESAA application resulted in the finding of new areas of noncompliance. These were: 1) failure to maintain local fiscal effort; 2) failure to comply with the district's desegregation plan; and 3) failure to make adequate provision for non-public school participation in planning the projected activities. Each of these issues was resolved according to agreements reached with the EEOP Associate Commissioner, and on September 30, 1976, the district and OCR jointly announced the award of ESAA funds for 1976-77.

Since that time (summer 1976), OCR's involvement with Seattle has consisted of handling a few relatively small complaints (e.g., student discipline, discriminatory hiring) which have either been dropped or referred elsewhere. A standing complaint by the NAACP on student assignment has not been acted on pending the district's adoption of the new desegregation plan (see Chapter III).

Both parties claim that district-OCR relations have improved considerably since resolution of the ESAA eligibility issues. "We have our wounds," said on OCR respondent. A residue of bitterness and distrust remains on both sides, however. OCR staff at the regional office tend to feel that the district has consistently "made the minimum moves toward desegregation and no more." Even now OCR personnel are skeptical about the district's commitment to desegregation. In the words of one respondent, "Seattle has talked desegregation for 15 years, but they've never done it." Some OCR staff echoed the sentiments of community members who felt the district was implementing the current plan only because of the threat of an imminent legal suit if massive desegregation did not occur.

Perceptions of OCR

District sources reported that currently they have "good relations" with the regional OCR staff. Other than this, they had little positive to say about OCR. In contrast, they offered a considerable number of criticisms. These focussed on OCR's policy, procedures, and style during the ESAA controversy and on the 101/102 survey forms.

The words mentioned most often in describing OCR during the ESAA controversy were "insensitive," "unreasonable," and "unfair." OCR was seen as insensitive or even abrasive in the way staff members handled many of their interactions with the district. In particular, some people felt that OCR should have warned the district that it might be in trouble before sending the formal notice of ineligibility. The timing of the notice--at a point when the district was frantically trying to adjust to the school levy failure--was also seen as insensitive.

"Unreasonable" characterized the substance of OCR demands for staffing and _Lau_ remedies, in the opinion of district respondents. (As noted before, the district believed its existing programs were "educationally sound.") As discussed in the section on ESAA (pp. 36-39), district sources also felt that the _Lau_ remedies and the Title VI staffing requirements contradicted one another: _Lau_ calls for the use of minority staff to work with minority students while Title VI says minority teachers should be spread across all students.

OCR was seen as unfair in a number of ways. Regarding the determination of non-compliance with _Lau_, the district argued that OCR's use of recently revised forms asking for numbers of limited English speaking students was inequitable because: (1) most districts across the country had not even completed these forms in time for review, yet these districts were not penalized while Seattle was, in effect, punished for having submitted the forms on time; and (2) Seattle had noted on the forms that the numbers provided were only estimates and perhaps were as much as 25 percent too high. OCR's responses to these charges, as noted in the GAO report, were that (1) it could not ignore one district's non-compliance simply because it had no data at that point for other districts; and (2) Title VI requires districts to serve 100 percent of eligible students, so as long as this standard is not met, the accuracy of the estimates is irrelevant.

On a more general level, one respondent felt that it was unfair that districts must appeal their case before the same persons who make the original determination of non-compliance; this person saw a conflict between OCR's monitoring and enforcement roles. Inappropriate concentration of power was also seen in OCR's ability to block receipt of federal funds before a final determination of guilt is made (i.e., before a Title VI hearing takes place), and in the fact that a violation of ESAA may become a presumptive violation of Title VI. On this last issue, OCR's position is that a dual violation arises because ESAA and Title VI have very similar guidelines on staffing and Lau issues.

While the district resented what was viewed as OCR's overwhelming power in some areas, it also recognized that in other areas, OCR was ineffective due to the regional office-central office structure and inadequate regional staff size. In the words of one respondent, "Part of OCR's difficulty is that the regions don't seem to have any authority; all their activities have to be checked out with Washington." Aggravating this situation is that the communication process between the regional and central offices is apparently "cumbersome" and the coordination is poor. On one occasion, for example, district representatives reportedly hand-carried some forms to the central office, only to have the regional office contact them two weeks later to find out why the forms had not yet been submitted.

OCR's inadequate regional staff size, district representatives believed, prevented the office from doing an effective and comprehensive monitoring job. Additionally, respondents felt that OCR did not give the district sufficient assistance in meeting OCR demands, and lack of staff was seen as one of the reasons for this ommission.

101/102 survey forms: While district respondents' strongest feelings toward OCR stemmed from the ESAA controversy, we also heard many comments—all negative—about OCR's 101/102 annual survey forms. The forms' major problems seem to be their ambiguity in some areas and the sheer magnitude of the data collection they require. In a letter dated April 26, 1977, sent to the Administrator of the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), the superintendent of Seattle Public Schools noted that completion of the 1976-77 forms required 1,050 person-hours and about $14,000 in computer programming costs. One of our respondents described the effort as "massive": "We had some of the data they wanted, but not in the form that was needed. So in some cases we tried to change the form of our data; in other cases, we have to provide substitute information."

The Seattle superintendent's letter to NCES included several suggestions for reducing time and costs in 101/102 form completion: 1) Sufficient advance notice should be given of any changes in the forms from year to year; 2) OCR "should initiate a process designed to reimburse districts for unusual or initial costs incurred in responding to these surveys"; and 3) OCR should "give districts a computer format for each question so that tapes could be delivered to OCR in machine-readable format," thereby eliminating time-consuming transcription. The letter also cited ambiguities in form terms, such as "individual campus report" (is a magnet school within a traditional school considered an "individual campus?"); "vocational education" (does the term include "useful" occupations as well as "gainful?"); and "drop-out" (are students who discontinued school during one school year but who returned the next year considered "drop-outs?"). The letter pointed out that these definitional difficulties could lead to non-comparability of data across districts.

Other problems with the forms cited in the letter included:

- Information similar but often not identical to that required by the 101/102 forms is required by other data collection efforts, making for duplicative reporting efforts by the district. For example, Title IV asked the district for a count of its Indian students separate from student count information collected by OCR and also defined "Indian student" differently than did OCR. The district urged that "every effort be made" to avoid such duplication or at least to coordinate definitions and data format.

- The purpose of each question and the relation of the questions to the survey's overall purpose of reviewing compliance is unclear and should be specified.

- Districts applying for ESAA funds should not be penalized by being required to submit the 101/102 forms earlier than districts not applying for ESAA funds. (One year when the forms were distributed late, the deadline for their submission was moved back, but ESAA applications, which required 101/102 data, were not given an extension.)

Respondents at OCR generally concurred with the district's perceptions of the difficulties caused by the 101/102 forms. One said, "The districts unanimously hate them; any comment we get about them is negative." From OCR's viewpoint, one of the major difficulties with the forms has been the many changes in them over the years. As a result, there has been little consistency and a poor data base for longitudinal examinations has been assembled.

Other perceptions of OCR by Region X staff: Region X OCR respondents believe OCR (or at least Region X) is most effective in dealing with Lau cases, because here districts "must present comprehensive reviews and a plan of action." They also see their voice as a positive force in the region in helping the SEAs obtain compliance with civil rights guidelines.

As seen by OCR staff, Region X's weakest areas are in "processing complaints in a timely manner" and in monitoring effectively. The cause is lack of staff, which is seen as a result of the national policy of determining staff size on the basis of a region's minority population. Region X staff feel that this policy is becoming increasingly inequitable as issues having nothing to do with racial minorities (e.g., sex, handicapped) come under OCR's purview.

Region X respondents feel that another weak area is the relationship between the regional office and the central office. As they saw it, the central office succumbed to political pressures from Washington State's Congressional delegation and pressured Region X to compromise more than the region had wanted to in the negotiations with Seattle. It was felt that such "caving in to political pressure" limits OCR's credibility and therefore its effectiveness; regional staff resented being "undercut" by the central office.

The regional staff also expressed dissatisfaction with the length of time required by the central office to investigate complaints dealing with rights of women and the handicapped, which must be referred by the region to the central office. One respondent claimed that often, by the time the central office completes its investigation, the data in the original letter of findings are "so old we have to start an investigation all over again; some letters were sent nine months ago and still haven't been returned." Regional staff recognize, however, that the central office does give consistency to OCR operations and they feel that this is most important as back-up for regions with poor OCR and OGC staffs.

In general, OCR respondents feel the Office could be more effective if three major conditions were met: 1) increased staff; 2) the ability to defer or cut off federal funds to force compliance (as is now possible only with ESAA); and 3) clearer policy on a variety of issues so that greater regional autonomy would be possible.

V. *OVERVIEW*

In the preceding sections the process of desegregation in Seattle has been outlined; the roles of ESAA, Title IV, and OCR have been described, and respondents' perceptions of these programs have been discussed.

Seattle is significant, and rare, for its ability to maintain a voluntary status with regard to desegregation when so many other cities of Seattle's size and larger have chosen the politically easier choice of waiting for a court order to compel, and justify, desegregation action. But Seattle has managed to maintain its voluntary status by only a narrow margin. Some of the most significant desegregation moves have been made only when the school district was faced with explicit threats of court action, and, until recently, the moves made have not been drastic.

Voluntarism in Seattle is now just beginning to face its first real test. For the first time the school district is initiating large-scale mandatory movement of majority students away from neighborhood schools. This student movement is mandatory because it had become obvious in Seattle that this was the only way movement on such a scale could be achieved, at least within a time frame acceptable to pro-desegregation forces. The reaction of students and parents when mandatory desegregation actually takes place remains to be seen. Will the absence of a court order make the process more popular? Will opposition form anyway? Will the voters of Seattle use their levy sanction to punish the school board for their decision? Will an accelerated exodus of the majority population from the city school district occur?

The outlook is hopeful in Seattle for one major reason: Community involvement in planning the desegregation process has been extensive. It was primarily community involvement that provided a basis for the school board's acceptance of its responsibility, rather than foisting that responsibility onto a federal court. Seattle school officials and civic leaders are determined to maintain the high level of public involvement in the remaining desegregation planning steps and in plan implementation. A high level of civic concern and involvement is one of Seattle's major strengths as a city; if these social forces can be brought to bear constructively, desegregation may succeed on a voluntary basis.

In the context of Seattle's previously cautious approach to desegregation, federal funds acquired from ESAA have been used conservatively to fund Title I-type compensatory education and existing programs for gifted students and cultural heritage educational materials development. Partially because of the way the funds were used, and partially because of Seattle's lack of skill in acquiring larger amounts, ESAA has had relatively little impact on desegregation. Now that district-wide desegregation is occurring, the need for additional funds will become more acute; it can be anticipated that Seattle's efforts in acquiring ESAA funds and the uses to which ESAA funds are put will reflect the greater need.

For a variety of reasons Seattle's use of federal resources available through Title IV GAC-A and GAC-B centers has also been minimal. Title IV LEA funding has produced a strong impact on the process of desegregation planning in Seattle, however, because of the individual hired as desegregation director with these funds.

OCR involvement in Seattle has also been extensive. Because of Seattle'e voluntary status with regard to desegregation, OCR has taken an active role in identifying instances of non-compliance in the district, and in conducting negotiations to correct these conditions. As a result of their past adversary encounters the relationship between the regional OCR office and the Seattle school district is still somewhat strained.

APPENDIX E

Case #5

PUEBLO SCHOOL DISTRICT #60
Pueblo, Colorado

WORKING REPORT

APPENDIX E

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I. INTRODUCTION

This report focuses on School District 60 in Pueblo, Colorado, and is the fifth in a series of five case studies which examine the role of three federal programs in the process of desegregation. The programs of concern are the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA); Title IV of the Civil Rights Act (CRA); and the enforcement of Title VI of the CRA by the Office for Civil Rights (OCR). The report primarily describes the activities of these programs within one community, Pueblo. In order to establish a context within which the program activities may be understood, the history of Pueblo and its desegregation process are also described.

The overall objectives of the case studies are to determine the impact of ESAA, CRA-Title IV, and OCR on desegregation in selected school districts across the nation and, on the basis of these findings, suggest means of optimizing future program impacts. This report is based predominantly on interviews with a variety of Puebloites knowledgeable about the city's desegregation process, ESAA, CRA-Title IV, and/or OCR. A total of approximately 50 individuals were interviewed individually during the third week of January, 1978. Respondents included district level administrators, Board of Education members, ESAA and Title IV program directors and staff, building administrators, teachers, Region VIII OCR and Equal Educational Opportunities staff, ESAA advisory committee members, community representatives active in the desegregation process, and media representatives. Respondents were interviewed on topics appropriate for their particular roles with questions selected from a semi-structured interview guide. In addition to the interviews, limited archival data were also collected relating to ESAA and Title IV (e.g., racial enrollment patterns, proposals for ESAA and Title IV programs, proposed desegregation plans).

The remainder of this report is organized as follows: Section II, "The Setting for Desegregation," provides an overview of the Pueblo community and its history, with particular emphasis on Pueblo's history of race relaitons. The process of desegregation, beginning in the mid-1960's and continuing to the present, is the focus of Section III. Section IV, "Federal Legislated Involvement in Desegregation," consists of a discussion of ESAA, CRA-Title IV, and OCR. An overview in Section V concludes the report.

II THE SETTING FOR DESEGREGATION

Pueblo is located in the south central section of Colorado 25 miles east of the front range of the Rocky Mountains. Approximately 106,000 people live within the city limits; an additional 21,000 reside in the Pueblo County area surrounding the city. The city and county population is about 66 percent Anglo, 31 percent Chicano, and 2 percent black; Indian and other groups make up the remaining 1 percent.

To the casual visitor Pueblo can appear barren and uninviting. The city is high and dry, with an elevation of 4,695 feet and a yearly rainfall of only about 12 inches. The terrain surrounding the city is flat and semi-arid, broken only by small canyons and dry washes. Pueblo has few architectural distinctions and some residents complain about its lack of gourmet dining spots, book stores and good department stores. Yet for many Puebloites, the small-town feeling of the city is very attractive. Also, the nearby Rocky Mountains provide excellent fishing, boating and hunting opportunities. Denver is just two hours away by freeway, and Pueblo has easy access to many of Colorado's major ski areas -- Aspen, Breckenridge, Crested Butte and Monarch are within 180 miles of Pueblo.

Pueblo originally developed in the late 1800s as an agricultural center, but today it is one of Colorado's leading industrial centers. The largest industry in Pueblo is the Colorado Iron and Fuel Company, which has a payroll of about 6000. The largest employer in Pueblo, however, is the government; nearly 11,000 persons work in such Pueblo-located facilities as the Pueblo Army Depot, the Colorado State Hospital, a U.S. Bureau of Documents Automated Information Center, and a U.S. Department of Transportation Speed Test Center.

Despite the fact that only a small percent of available jobs in the area are in agriculture, Pueblo's past reputation as an agricultural center lingers and the unskilled and unemployed continue to come to the area in search of farm work, adding to Pueblo's already high incidence of poverty. On a percentage basis, Pueblo's poverty is higher than that of the nation as a whole and higher than that of Colorado's other major cities. In 1970, 11.2 percent of Pueblo's families had incomes below the poverty level, compared to 10.7 percent in the nation, while those below the poverty level constituted only 6.8 percent in Denver and 9.2 percent in Colorado Springs.

The incidence of poverty in Pueblo is about twice as high among Spanish-surnamed families as among Anglo families. There are no comparable figures for the relatively few Black families living in Pueblo but the generally higher status of Blacks in this city is reflected in unemployment rates. In 1970, the city's unemployment rate among Blacks was 4.23 percent, slightly lower than that for Anglos (4.93 percent), and almost half that for Chicanos (8.88 percent).

Pueblo's wealth is primarily concentrated among Anglo families in the banking industry. There are 16 financial institutions in the city: 8 commercial banks, 6 savings and loan associations and 4 industrial banks. Political control is said to be exercised by leaders in the banking business. For example, one as yet unpublished doctoral dissertation on decision-making in Pueblo on education matters found that almost 80 percent of the relatively small number of "most powerful" decision-makers were associated with banking.

Pueblo has never experienced a population explosion; in fact, between 1960 and 1970 the population remained stable. Although projections are that by 1980 the County population will swell to around 137,000, there does not appear to be an overall economic development strategy. As one city official explained it:

> Pueblo doesn't want economic growth. In many ways, there's a cowboy mentality. There's also a fear of foreigners. Few new ideas surface; one gets the feeling they'd rather decrease profits than promote substantial growth.

The city has had a council-manager form of government since 1954. The 7-member council, elected for four year staggered terms, is empowered to pass ordinances, determine policy and appoint the city manager. One councilman is elected from each of four council districts; three are elected "at-large" by the voters of the entire city. The Mayor is elected by the council from among its members and serves as the ceremonial head of the city. The first Chicano member of the council was elected in 1966. Another Chicano councilman was selected as Mayor in 1976.

Two school districts serve Pueblo County's population: District 60, in the city of Pueblo, and District 70, comprising most of the rural area of the county. District 60, the focus of this report, serves almost 23,000 students in 29 elementary schools (K - fifth grade), seven middle schools (grades 6-8), four high schools (grades 9-12), and one alternate school (for children aged 12-17). Chicanos constitute about 41% of the district school enrollment. Other minority enrollment is very small, with blacks constituting about 3% and Asian American and American Indian less than 1% each.

District 60's schools are operated by a staff of 2,200, including 1,250 faculty, and funded by an annual budget of approximately $30 million. The Board of Education is the policy-making body of the school district, and is responsible for its financial operations. Terms of office for the five-member school board are six years, with elections held on odd numbered years so that members serve staggered terms. The first Chicano member of the school board was elected in 1969. The current president of the board is also Chicano.

III ETHNIC RELATIONS IN PUEBLO: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The earliest record of Pueblo dates back to 1540 when the Spanish explorer Coronado reached the area which is now Pueblo in search of "Cibola," the city of gold. In 1673 the Spanish again visited Pueblo when expeditions were sent north from Santa Fe to halt the westward advance of the French.

American settlers first came into the region in 1806 when U.S. Army Lt. Zebulon Pike built a log stockade in the Pueblo area for protection against the Indians. From there, Pike set out with three of his men to climb what he called "Grand Peak." But after three days of floundering in deep snow, Pike returned to aver that man would never reach the top of that mountain. The summit stands today as Pike's Peak, some 45 miles from the explorer's original stockade.

A mulatto and one-time war chief of the Crow Indians--Jim Beckwourth--is generally given credit for naming the site of Pueblo. In the early 1840s, he and other fur traders constructed a small fort there. The fort was inhabited by a small group of settlers until Christmas Eve of 1854 when almost the entire group was killed by Indians. Following the massacre, Pueblo remained uninhabited until 1858. In that year, a group of prospectors, deciding they could make more money by trading with the Indians than they could by mining, erected 30 log and adobe cabins--the town's first permanent structures. By 1873, when Pueblo was incorporated as a city, its population had grown to over 700.

Pueblo's origins as an industrial site can be traced to the early 1870's. During this period, an eastern railroad magnate, General William Jackson Palmer, began searching for an industrial base in the West. Having founded nearby Colorado Springs, General Palmer was familiar with the area and eventually chose Pueblo as his headquarters, primarily for its central location and its easy accessibility to sources of raw materials.

General Palmer had already built railroad lines from Denver to points in Wyoming where a rich supply of iron ore was located and could easily be transported south. An ample supply of coal was available in nearby southern Colorado. In 1880 the Colorado Coal and Iron company began operations in Pueblo with General Palmer as its president.

To provide a work force for the industry developing in Pueblo, immigrant labor was imported. Italians, Slovenians, Irish and English came to smelt the iron ore and work on the railroads. At about the same time, an increasing number of Chicanos migrated to Pueblo. A small number of Chicano families had been in the Pueblo region for generations; the Baca family, for example, had early land grants extending from near Pueblo almost to the Mexican border. Other old Chicano families had grown wealthy from ranching or mining in the area. But Chicanos moving to the area in the late 1800's and early 1900's came for low-skill positions in industry and agriculture. By 1940, Chicanos comprised 14% of Pueblo's population. And by the end of World War II, the Chicano population had risen to 20% as a result of an influx seeking employment in local war-related industries.

As with the settling of most of the U.S., the settling of Pueblo was dominated by the concept of assimilation into the Anglo majority culture; little, if any, accommodation to outgroup mores was made in Pueblo. Quite early in the city's history, the melting pot philosophy which guided the nation was reinforced by the state of Colorado: in 1870, Colorado's legislature passed a law that all public schools must instruct in English.

The dominance of the Anglo majority in Pueblo was not seriously challenged until the civil rights movement of the 1960's. In Pueblo, the challenge came not from the city's tiny black population, but from the Chicanos. In fact, there apparently never have been any overt equal rights demands or complaints from blacks in Pueblo. One black professional in Pueblo reports:

> Political and social awareness is lacking in Pueblo blacks. Those blacks that are vocal leave the city;

> those that remain support the establishment and don't rock the boat.

There were some minor confrontations between blacks and Chicanos in Pueblo a few years ago, but recently the Pueblo NAACP, a relatively small, struggling organization, has cooperated with Chicanos on some issues.

Activism has also been limited in the Chicano community. The confrontations which occurred have primarily been the work of small groups of independent dissidents within the Chicano community. One community leader characterized Pueblo's Chicano politics as follows:

> The (leaders) of Chicanos here (have) slight impact. The militant left consists of a small minority which espouses radicalism for the sake of radicalism. It disavows anyone that works in the power structure. The conservative right, (those) who have made it in the middle class, have no real historical ties and can't understand their (Spanish) parents or the radical left. They have no guilt feelings about not being aggressive for Chicano rights; they just want to have a good job and two cars.

The basic conservatism of most of the Chicano community in Pueblo probably arises from the special nature of this community. Most of Pueblo's Chicanos are descended from old Spanish settlers of what is now the American Southwest, and their families have been American citizens for at least several generations. Those Chicano families which have recently moved to Pueblo come primarily not from Mexico, but from northern New Mexico or Arizona. Although they have preserved many aspects of their Spanish heritage in the small towns and isolated rural areas of the American Southwest, these Americans of Spanish heritage do not differ from Anglos as much as the more recent immigrants from Mexico who have flooded border areas and large cities in Texas and California. For example, their use of the Spanish language is not extensive; many in the younger generation have lost their fluency in Spanish, and only older persons are likely to be monolingual in Spanish.

The special nature of the Pueblo Chicano community does not mean that there are no desegragation problems in the city. Although there is some mixing, residential segregation is still marked, with distinctive, isolated Chicano neighborhoods, called barrios, located in several sections of Pueblo. There has also been a long history of discrimination in employment, and generally the city's Chicanos have considerably lower incomes than do most Anglos.

The first major confrontation between Anglos and Chicanos in Pueblo occurred with the initiation of the War on Poverty program in 1965. There was strong resistance from the Chicano community to the appointment of an Anglo as Director of the Pueblo Office of Economic Opportunity. A compromise was reached eventually, and a leading Chicano citizen was appointed associate director.

The first workshop to identify Chicano economic problems in Colorado was held in Pueblo in 1965. Similar meetings were held frequently in Pueblo during the late 1960s, sometimes erupting in controversy over the relatively small number of Chicanos in attendance. For example, at one 1969 OEO meeting in Pueblo, 125 officials attended, but only three were Spanish-surnamed.

As a result of federal activities devoted to improving the economic conditions of Chicanos in Pueblo, certain elements of the Chicano community were stimulated to organize. One organization, the Pueblo Chicano United Council, formed an ad hoc committee to investigate the Pueblo County Legal Aid Agency. Training sessions were also mounted to focus on employment discrimination in light of constitutional guarantees and civil rights legislation. Another community group investigated ways to initiate class action suits against local employers for alleged job promotion discrimination.

Various social services organized by the Chicano community began to appear. La Raza and MECHA sponsored activities such as food drives to provide needy families with Thanksgiving dinners. A program for improving recreational facilities was launched, and a petition was submitted to the city to rename a park "Zapata Park." Brown Berets headed a group of community volunteers who conducted a day-long cleanup of homes and yards in a major barrio, with emphasis placed on areas occupied by older residents unable to do the job themselves.

The Pueblo broadcast media were also scrutinized. The ending of alleged discrimination in employment, training and programming were the objectives of this examination, and informal petititions were filed against the licenses of two Pueblo radio stations. Pressure was focused on the placing of more Chicanos in news reporting, writing, advertising and policy-making board positions. Charges were made that programming was biased and distorted. As a result, programs such as "The Emerging Chicano: Points of View" began appearing on local television stations.

The Educational System

Quite early in the civil rights activities in Pueblo, the educational system also became the target of attacks for its alleged failure to provide equality of educational opportunity for Chicanos. As previously noted, Colorado state law had prohibited public school teachers from teaching in Spanish. Many Chicano residents remember a time, not too long past, when punishment for speaking Spanish in school was meted out on a regular basis:

> The teacher kept a list of anybody who spoke Spanish and on Fridays the principal would come around and line us up and give us a spanking. Sometimes we had to pay a nickel for every Spanish word we used.

As awareness of similar injustices nationally heightened in the 1960s, new educational programs at the federal state, and local levels were created. The most important development of this period was the enactment of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968. This legislation represented a shift in public policy away from the melting pot ideology. It also legitimated the movement for equality of education for Chicanos.

Statistics and facts relating to Chicano education began appearing regularly in the Pueblo press as well as the national press; reports of neglect and discrimination multiplied. The Civil Rights Commission report, "Ethnic Isolation of Mexican-Americans in the Public Schools of the Southwest," stirred controversy around the nation when it was released in 1970. The study reported that approximately 45% of all Mexican-American children in the five southwestern states of Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas and California attended schools in which they were the predominant ethnic group. The report also documented underrepresentation of Mexican-Americans in the ranks of teachers, administrators, and board of education members. Another study group reported to the President's Commission on Campus Unrest that up to 80% of all Chicano students drop out before they finish high school.

Parelleling the release of such information nation-wide was the distribution of ethnic awareness materials in Pueblo institutions of higher education. Films, records and books on Chicano culture began appearing in the Student Center of the Colorado State College at Pueblo. At the same time, the college joined four other Colorado colleges in forming the College Commission on the Spanish-Surnamed in Higher Education. A "quality of life" program was also initiated by the college, designed to assist Chicanos in identifying and ranking environmental issues impinging adversely upon Pueblo community life. The Pueblo Congress of Hispanic Educators initiated conferences and training sessions on intercultural relations.

By 1969, awareness of the importance of Chicano cultural activities had increased to the point that the previously conservative Colorado Education Association was urging that all Colorado schools give special recognition to Mexican Independence day. This development appeared to have a mobilizing effect on the Chicano secondary school students of Pueblo who, up until that time, had not been very active in civil rights concerns. In 1969, in a show of bravado over their newly emerging status, a small group of Chicano students walked out of junior and senior high school classes to observe Mexican Independence Day. In response, the Pueblo school district initiated programs in each school to provide awareness of the special day.

Additional student walkouts and other signs of Chicano unrest in the Pueblo schools continued, however. In an attempt to improve communications between the school and the Chicano community, the superintendent in 1969 created two positions of "liaison specialist." After careful screening, two Chicano males were selected to become liaison specialists. Their primary responsibility was staying in touch with Chicano leaders and parents so that the school district could respond to problems before they got out of control. Undoubtedly the work of these specialists had its impact, but they were perceived by leaders as "sell-out" representatives of the school system.

On September 16, 1970, a number of Chicano high school students staged another walkout. The following week, about 35 Chicano students wearing black or brown berets arrived at a regular meeting of the Board of Education. They presented nine demands to the Board:

1. Lower the cost of school hot lunches
2. Initiate classes in Chicano history
3. Make Chicano programs subject to review by students and parents
4. Add more Chicano teachers and counselors
5. Increase respect for Chicanos from teachers and administrators
6. Increase access to school facilities for Chicano programs
7. Recognize Chicano holidays
8. Grant respect for Chicano organizations in schools
9. Cease harassment of Chicano students who took part in school walkouts.

The superintendent's response to these demands was deemed inadequate, and the meeting ended in angry confrontation.

At about the same time---fall of 1970---the Board of Education approved a desegregation plan. This desegregation plan reorganized the Pueblo Public Schools from a K-6, 7-9, 10-12 grouping to a K-5, 6-8, 9-12 grouping. The reorganization served to reduce minority group isolation, since segregation of Chicanos and Anglos was greatest at the elementary level. The new grouping permitted moving children out of minority isolated grade schools to relatively less minority isolated middle schools a year earlier, and also from middle schools to relatively less minority isolated high schools a year earlier. The plan was implemented in a complex consisting of one high school, two middle schools, and three elementary schools in 1971, and was extended to the remainder of the city's schools during the following two school years.

School reorganization did little to reduce the pattern of increasing Chicano-Anglo confrontation, however. Name-calling and fist fights between Chicano and Anglo secondary school students occurred. In January 1973, a group of Chicano students from one high school entered another high school, and fighting broke out among the students. Police were called, two youths were arrested, and about 15 others were suspended from school.

To stem the increasing polarization arising from such incidents, parents, students and community leaders organized meetings aimed at conciliation, some attended by as many as 800 persons. At a Chicano community meeting attended by some 350 persons a committee of 14 was appointed to meet with a counterpart delegation of Anglos to seek a reduction of tension in the secondary schools.

A more radical approach was adopted by another committee formed a short time later, the Chicano Barrio Education Committee (CBEC). The CBEC submitted to district officials a list of demands, including one that they be given a policy-making role in school district management. After being informed that neither the school board nor the district administration could give policy-making powers to such a committee, about 20 CBEC members disrupted a Board of Education meeting in March, 1973, to clamor for a more positive response to their demands.

The pattern of increasing confrontation between the Chicano and Anglo communities over the schools was finally broken in 1974. An important factor in the breakthrough was the arrival that year of a new school superintendent, whose appointment provided the basis for a fresh start.

The new superintendent had a rough introduction to the controversy. At about the time he took office, a disturbance in one of the high schools led to the arrest of 16 Chicano students. Because only Chicanos had been arrested, even though Anglo students had also been involved in the melee, the Chicano community was incensed. About 600 persons, mostly Chicanos, attended the next Board of Education meeting held about a week later. In contrast to previous similar occasions, when emotions had run high, this time the meeting took place in an atmosphere of relative calm. The new superintendent's response was agreeable and decisive. For example, when community members attacked the district's affirmative action hiring plan, the superintendent said that he, too, had noted deficiencies in the plan and that a new one would be presented for public input soon.

Shortly after the arrival of the new superintendent two other events occurred that ultimately led to an easing of tension in the school district. One was the passage in the Colorado State Legislature of a Bilingual Education Act, which provided state funds for bilingual education. The second event was the receipt of a citation from the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) of probable non-compliance wit Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. In brief, the OCR citation claimed that the district was at fault in four areas:

1) Insufficient bilingual education
2) Insufficient numbers of minority personnel
3) Inadequate criteria and rationale for homogenous grouping
4) Disproportionate assignments of minority students to special education classes.

These charges were very similar to those being made by the Chicano activists. Therefore, when, after a year of negotiations with OCR, the district was declared to have met OCR demands, much of the community's criticism was dissipated. (See pp. 52 through 57 for a more detailed discussion of the district's involvement with OCR.)

By 1976, violent confrontations between Chicano and Anglo secondary school students had virtually ended. Militant spokesmen for the Chicano community had been replaced by others willing to adopt a more moderate stance. Representative of this approach is the Chicano Education Committee (CEC), a small group of activists formed in the mid-1970's on the premise that the community should be involved in the educational process. To this end, in the fall of 1976, the CEC obtained CETA Title VI funds for a Parent Community Education Project, headquartered at the University of Southern Colorado (USC).

Although their approach is relatively moderate, the CEC has remained a thorn in the side of the Pueblo school district by attempting to compile evidence that Chicano education needs are not being adequately met, and then releasing that information to the local press. One major controversy occurred in October, 1976, when members of the CEC visited elementary school classrooms, and, on the basis of their observations, charged that teachers were not doing a good job of teaching reading and math. Since the CEC funding was channeled through USC, the teachers retaliated through their Pueblo Education Association by issuing a veiled threat that USC education majors might find it difficult to continue practice teaching in the district if the CEC did not cease its attacks. CEC responded by moving its headquarters from USC to a barrio church.

Current Status

During the current 1977-78 school year there has again been no recurrence of the student confrontations that plagued the Pueblo secondary schools in earlier years. Local school principals give credit to both students and parents for the cessation of such incidents.

The CEC continues to be the major organization currently speaking for the Chicano community on matters related to education. Its major goal remains the improvement of education for Chicano children through parent participation. One activist expresses his and the CEC's position this way:

> I feel that changes in the school system will only come from parent pressure. I don't see why myself and this committee are perceived as a threat. We're not asking for anything but improved education for children. Conditions in the schools have not changed that much.

A number of respondents claim that only a small minority of Pueblo Chicanos agree with the position taken by the CEC, let alone the much more radical positions taken by other leadership within the recent past. Many Chicanos, it is said, are satisfied with the status quo, valuing, for example, the continued presence of neighborhood elementary schools in the city's barrios. Activists, on the other hand, claim that community frustration runs high because the school district has only done the minimum required, and more subtle forms of discrimination have replaced former overt expression of bias. Few speak out, they claim, because social and economic retaliation is feared. One barrio worker says:

> Many...are extremely frustrated but they are fearful. A few are confident and feel that they can assert themselves, but most are afraid of causing trouble.

The activist minority feels that, in the absence of community cohesion and support, they alone have provided the necessary pressure to effect change, at the risk of antagonizing the Anglo community and being rejected by their own community. The Anglo establishment in Pueblo recognizes that activist pressures come from only a small minority of the Chicano community, and demands made in recent years have been judged in that context.

There is recognition in both the Anglo and Chicano communities, however, that out of the militant confrontations and the pressures from OCR have come positive changes in the Pueblo school district. One administrator argued that the combined pressures from OCR and the militants enabled the district to combat strong counter pressure from the conservative element of the community. "Without the (Chicano) activists," it was claimed, "the right-wingers would have said to tell OCR to get lost." There is now more willingness in the Chicano community to make requests of the public schools, and the Pueblo school district administration has gained a new awareness of the extent and nature of problems facing the Chicano community. The expanding bilingual education program in the district, and the many more Chicano administrators and teachers on the district's staff, are cited as primary, concrete positive changes in the Pueblo educational system. Further change will undoubtedly occur, but at present the Pueblo school district appears to have arrived at a state of primarily peaceful equilibrium.

It is important to recognize that Pueblo's desegregation environment differs significantly from that found in the other four case studies in this series. In the other four case studies, desegregation problems primarily involve black-white relationships where the degree of polarization is relatively high. In contrast, the degree of polarization between Anglos and Chicanos in Pueblo is not as great, probably because the differences between the two groups are not as marked. Although Pueblo's Chicanos, as a group, may tend to have lower incomes and live in a different part of town from Pueblo's Anglos, they are still relatively highly assimilated. Most have been United States citizens for generations, and very few children or their parents are monolingual in Spanish. Furthermore, to an outside observer at least, Pueblo's Chicano population doesn't look that much different from its Anglo population, perhaps because Pueblo's Chicanos may lack the strong admixture of Indian blood which gives a mestizo appearance to Chicano populations in some other parts of the United States. It is probably because the differences between Chicanos and Anglos in Pueblo are not so marked that a desegregation plan consisting only of a slight grade reorganization has, so far, been sufficient.

IV. FEDERAL LEGISLATED INVOLVEMENT IN DESEGREGATION

The United States Congress has enacted two major laws related to school desegregation that are currently in force:

1. The Civil Rights Act of 1964: The central provision of this act is Title VI, which prohibits racial discrimination by recipients of federal aid. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has assigned responsibility for the enforcement of that prohibition to the Office for Civil Rights (OCR). OCR's role includes both monitoring of and enforcing Title VI among federal aid recipients, including public elementary and secondary schools. Within recent years, OCR's purview has expanded to cover discrimination against women, limited-English-speaking students, the handicapped, and the aged, as well as racial discrimination. Title IV of the Civil Rights Act established a program of technical assistance and training for districts drawing up or implementing a required desegregation plan.

2. The Emergency School Aid Act of 1972: Through this act, the Congress provided for financial assistance to school districts (1) to meet special needs arising from school desegregation; (2) to encourage the voluntary reduction of minority group isolation in schools with substantial proportions of minority group students; and (3) to aid school children in overcoming the educational disadvantages of minority group isolation. ESAA funds may be used for a variety of purposes, including compensatory education, human relations, staff training, and community relations. They may not be used for busing. Until now, most ESAA funds have been used to support compensatory education efforts in desegregating schools.

The activities of these three programs (ESAA, CRA-Title IV, and OCR) in Pueblo are the focus of this chapter.

Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA)

Funding and Scope

Pueblo has been receiving funds under ESAA Basic since 1974. The annual amounts of these funds are as follows: $344,204 for 1974-75; $492,829 for 1975-76; $509,022 for 1976-77; and $463,738 for 1977-78. The funding has regularly been distributed among three primary program areas, Bilingual Education, Alternate School and Human Relations. A fourth program area, Mini-Programs, has received a smaller amount of funding. The funding distribution for the three primary program areas has remained relatively constant over the past four years, although the bilingual funding level has varied somewhat.

Pueblo's approach to seeking ESAA funds has necessarily differed from that of cities such as San Francisco and Seattle. San Francisco and Seattle are dominant urban centers in their respective states, and, as such, tend to have the greatest desegregation problems---and first claim on ESAA funds under existing statistical point systems. In Colorado, however, Denver is the major urban center, and Denver annually takes the lion's share of the ESAA funds available to the state. Pueblo's first step in seeking ESAA funding each year is to call Denver to determine the amount of their request. In the 1978-79 school year, for example, Pueblo anticipated that $1,400,000 in ESAA funds would be available to the state; Denver informed Pueblo it was going to ask for $1,010,000 of these funds, and, if past experience was any indication, Denver would get most of what it asks for. As in previous years, Pueblo was resignedly prepared to "scavenge" with all the other districts in the state for the $390,000 anticipated to be left over.

There is recognition in Pueblo that Denver's integration and financing problems are relatively greater than Pueblo's. There is also a perception that ESAA funding requirements are primarily designed to funnel federal money to large urban districts like Denver. But Denver's growing needs have each year taken a larger share of the state allocation, and there is concern that soon there may be little left over for others. There is also resentment that Pueblo is pitted in such unequal competition; if Pueblo is held as responsible as Denver for desegregation compliance, the argument goes, why should it be so much harder for Pueblo to obtain funds for desegregation support? A separate ESAA funds allocation and competition for smaller school districts is one potential solution cited by respondents.

Despite the stiff competition, however, Pueblo has done relatively well in its quest for ESAA funds. This has been accomplished largely by conceding the area of "quantity points" to Denver, and concentrating instead on achieving a high proposal quality score. The high quality proposals Pueblo has submitted have been primarily prepared by the assistant superintendent for federal programs, with assistance from the three ESAA program directors and program staff members as appropriate. The proposals have also been reviewed by the ESAA advisory committee.

Selected aspects of the funding and scope of each of Pueblo's three ESAA funded programs are described below:

The Bilingual Education Program is receiving $240,074 in ESAA funds during the 1977-78 school year. The ESAA funds represent about a third of the program's budget, with the other two-thirds derived about equally from state and school district sources. The program is implemented in 13 Title I elementary schools in the district, and serves about 2100 students in grades K through 3. There are plans to extend the program to grade 4 next year and to grade 5 in the following year. The program is primarily transitional, emphasizing the development of English language skills, and there is a strong bicultural/ethnic pride component. There are currently about 30 teachers in the program, 9 supported by ESAA, 10 by state funds, and 11 by district funds. Of the 28 teacher's aides, 13 are supported with ESAA funds and 15 with state funds. In administrative positions the program has a director and two bilingual specialists.

The Pueblo bilingual program began in the kindergartens of the 13 elementary schools four years ago, based on a district-funded pilot program which had been implemented in two schools the preceeding year. The program received ESAA support that first year and also support under ESEA Title VII. But in 1975, review by an outside consultant determined that Pueblo's school population contained relatively few Spanish monolingual children. Subsequently, the district's application for a second year of ESEA Title VII funds was not granted (although the small number of monolingual Spanish students was not specified as the reason). In the 1975-76 school year the program was expanded to the first grade, increasing the number of children involved from about 700 to 1200. In April, 1976, state funding became available as a result of legislation mandating bilingual programs in grades K through 3. In the 1976-77 school year the program was expanded to include the second grade and this year the third grade. In expanding the program to grades four and five the district will rely on ESAA funds as they are available, but over the long term it is anticipated that the program will be supported exclusively with state and local funds.

The Alternate School Program is receiving $171,869 in ESAA funds this year, and a related program, the Drop In School, is receiving $15,881 from ESAA. Both programs address themselves to the needs of students who, for various reasons, are unable to attend classes in regular schools. The Alternate School has been funded exclusively with ESAA funds since its inception in the 1974-75 school year. The Alternate School is staffed with 7 teachers, one of whom doubles as director, and four paraprofessionals. The Alternate School has an enrollment of about 70. The Drop In School, where classes are held at night, has an enrollment of about 200 in each of two sessions annually, and a staff of 6 teachers and 2 paraprofessionals, all of whom serve on a part time basis. The director of the Alternate School also serves as director of the Drop In School.

The Human Relations Program is receiving $35,914 in ESAA funds during the 1977-78 school year. The program is in its third year and has been funded by ESAA since its inception. The primary thrust of the program is the provision of workshops and small group sessions on racism, sexism, interpersonal communications, and work skills for district teaching and administrative staff. ESAA funding covers the salary of the program director and her secretary, and pays consultant fees. The school district covers "release time" for staff members attending training sessions.

Activities

Selected aspects of activities in the Pueblo school programs funded wholly or partially by ESAA are described in this section. The program aspects selected for description are those which appeared most significant and interesting. Each program is described separately, following the same order of presentation as the preceding section.

Bilingual Education: A bilingual program may be conceived as consisting of two parts, one dealing with language itself and the other with cultural aspects other than language. A bilingual program may choose to emphasize one of these parts over the other. Pueblo's bilingual program places greater emphasis on "bicultural" activities than on Spanish language use.

The reason why Pueblo's bilingual program emphasizes bicultural activities first and Spanish language second is because the program's orientation is primarily enrichment. This orientation meets the desires of both the Anglo and the Chicano communities of the city. To understand the Chicano community's orientation to bilingual education and how this orientation has helped determine the activities of the bilingual education program, it is necessary to recall the very special nature of the Pueblo Chicano community. As described in the "Setting for Desegregation" section of this report, Pueblo's Chicano community is derived predominantly from old Spanish settlers of the American Southwest; there are virtually no recent immigrants from Mexico in the community. Although about half the homes in the Chicano community reportedly have grandparents fluent in Spanish, and a quarter or less have parents fluent in Spanish, the use of Spanish is declining rapidly and virtually none of the children in the Pueblo schools are monolingual in Spanish. Diagnostic testing conducted in 1970 of more than 600 Pueblo Chicano kindergarten children showed that only 2-4 percent were Spanish dominant speakers. Some children can understand spoken Spanish, and a very few are bilingual in Spanish and English, but the vast majority are monolingual in English.

As a result, for the Chicano child entering Pueblo's bilingual program, Spanish is almost as much a new language as it is for the Anglo child. This is true even for the Chicano child who comes from a home where Spanish is spoken occasionally by his parents or grandparents, because the Spanish they speak is likely to be an "impure" regional variant of Spanish. This regional variant of Spanish developed in northern New Mexico over a long period of regional isolation, just as regional variants of English developed in isolated parts of Appalachia. Northern New Mexico Spanish is characterized by the frequent occurrence of antiquated words and phrases, and contains many anglicisms, hispanicized words adapted from English. There are also pronunciation and vocabulary differences between New Mexican Spanish and Modern Castilian Spanish.

One important function of Pueblo's bilingual program, then, is to introduce the study of Spanish as a second language to Chicano as well as to Anglo children. Some Chicano children in the program are able to begin to learn Spanish and to move towards becoming bilingual, as are some Anglo children; reportedly, some Anglo children are the best Spanish speakers in the program and the program can't accommodate all Anglos applying for admission.

The Anglo community was reportedly not especially receptive to the idea of bilingual education initially. Although there was not overt opposition from Anglos, there was a strong feeling that it was "sufficient if the schools just used taxpayers' money to teach all the students English well." This community sentiment against the program was reflected in the Anglo school establishment. Some teachers expressed initial resistance because they feared that the addition of Spanish would only confuse the children, and some schools resisted the program because they felt its acceptance implied they had been failing the Chicano community previously.

A major reason the program was initially acceptable to the Anglo community was that local money was not involved in its original implementation. The bilingual program was started with ESAA funds, which were later supplemented with funds provided by the state of Colorado. The only overt opposition to the bilingual program at its inception came from conservative elements within the Pueblo Chicano community who feared that the program would hamper their children learning English well. The Chicano community eagerly welcomed the program for its bicultural aspects, however.

A number of Chicano children are not able to benefit from the Spanish language portion of the bilingual program, however, and these, ironically, are often those closest to the language in their homes. As a result of Spanish being spoken in their homes, about one quarter of the Chicano children had some degree of interference with their English, according to a 1974 study conducted in the Pueblo school district. These children may be somewhat weak in both languages, although their English is invariably much stronger than their Spanish. The interference is manifested in English by the use of Spanish word order and sentence structure, and by difficulties with English pronunciation, verb tense, and pronoun use.

Although it is termed a "politically difficult" decision, a very small number of Chicano children who have poor English because of Spanish interference are removed entirely from the Spanish language portion of the bilingual program and are taught in English exclusively. This is felt to be better for the child, as well as better for the school which is under pressure to improve its scores on standarized English reading tests in comparision with other schools in the district. Those children that can handle speaking, writing, and reading in both languages get both, those that can't get English only.

All children participate in the bicultural activities of the bilingual program, however. Even if Spanish language fluency is widely lost in the Pueblo Chicano community, other aspects of the Spanish culture are maintained. The children are very much a part of this culture even if they don't speak, and perhaps their parents don't want them to speak, Spanish. For the Chicano community it is important that the bilingual program brings their culture into the schools and, in this way, grants it a measure of legitimacy and prestige. The Chicano child's cultural identity is affirmed and his self image strengthened. There was a time when, if the teacher asked what everyone had had for breakfast, and the Anglo children all said bacon and eggs, the Chicano child was ashamed to say beans and tortillas and was ashamed of his parents for giving them to him. A major activity goal of the Pueblo bilingual program is to insure that differing cultural practices and values are given more nearly equal status.

Alternate School: Planning for the Alternate School began in March 1971, when a workshop to examine the alternatives for educating Pueblo school dropouts, or "pushouts", was sponsored by the local Spanish Peaks Mental Health Council. Among the alternatives examined was the "street school," an educational setting which is small and loosely structured to provide the flexibility, support and individual attention required by problem students. Following the workshop a draft funding proposal was prepared by the Pueblo Congress of Hispano Educators and some local VISTA volunteers. This proposal was later finalized with help from the Pueblo school district and many different community groups, including, from the Chicano community, La Raza Unida, MECHA, and the Barrio Concilio. Proposal development continued over about a 2 year period until in September, 1974, funding for the Alternate School was secured under ESAA Title VII.

The first year of Alternate School operation during the 1974-75 school year was a difficult one. The staff had been hurriedly assembled and had not had much time to prepare. No one was quite sure how the alternate school should be set up. Research on other alternate schools was conducted by both teachers and alternate school students, and several alternate schools, such as the Baker Street Academy in Denver, were visited. Various structures were tried and then modified or abandoned. One important lesson learned during this early period was that certain students, such as those who were psychologically very unstable, were beyond the capabilities of the school and should not be accepted. Although the Alternate School served 58 students that first year and 62 the next, it took about a year and a half before the program settled on a workable alternate school format.

During the current 1977-78 school year the Alternate School has about 70 students aged 12-17, and a staff of 7 professionals. Included among the professionals is a school psychologist, who doubles as the photography instructor, and a director, who is also a math teacher in the school and director of the Drop-In school. The Drop-In school is a separate but related program for young adults over 16 who have dropped out of high school or who are considered to be potential drop-outs. It is also funded out of ESAA and provides two nine-week sessions at two separate sites. Classes leading to a high school diploma are taught on a voluntary, overtime (paid) basis by regular high school teachers.

The Alternate School is housed in the "home arts" building on the grounds of the Colorado State Fair, which is located in a suburban section of Pueblo. The fair grounds location presents both advantages and disadvantages for the Alternate School. The School must start two or three weeks late every year because the fair schedule overlaps with the school schedule, and modifications to the building for the Alternate School must be reconstructed at the beginning of every school year and dismantled at the end. But the late start does provide a convenient time for staff planning, and the teachers and students work together moving fair display cases and nailing up partitions to "construct" their school, which provides a basis for early rapport. The fair grounds are deserted and lonely during the school year, but some other fair facilities are adaptable for School recreational purposes and the isolated setting helps to foster a sense of community within the school.

The interior of the home arts building is a large open pavilion, with a raised stage in the center. Arts and crafts classes are conducted on the stage, while the photography darkroom is located behind the stage. A large open area in front of the stage is used as a gymnasium. Around the edges of the open space smaller areas separated by partitions but open in front are used for reading, math, social studies and science classes. In one corner is a fully equipped 4-H demonstration kitchen which is used for cooking and cake baking classes, and from which a hot lunch brought in daily from a regular school cafeteria is served. An adjacent area contains a pool table and a "foosball" table constructed by the students for use during breaks in the school day. The overall impression is one of spaciousness and flexibility; almost every activity area is visible from all other parts of the pavilion.

The Alternate School curriculum is a combination of regular classwork and "experiential" education. Flexible scheduling permits time off for part-time jobs as appropriate. Regular classwork is conducted in small groups which provide a warm and supportive setting for learning and an opportunity for individual instruction. Experential education has included credit for Youth Effectiveness Training, a short term course emphasizing personal growth and communication skills, and a series of day field trips for activities such as observing a courthouse trial, skiing, and horseback riding. Staff members hope to expand the experiential program to include trips of several days or a week; a visit to Denver or a rural town might be accompanied by sociological study, and a visit to the mountains might be accompanied by ecological study and the kind of personal-growth-through-wilderness-survival-skills training offered by organizations such as Outward Bound. Additional funding for activities of this nature is being sought from ESAA and other sources, but even if additional funding is secured the staff anticipates continuation of the current practice of having students earn a portion of field trip expenses through activities such as bake sales and car washes to insure that they appreciate the opportunities offered.

It is not surprising that the Alternate School is very attractive to students. Some students will attempt to cope with regular school, rather than dropping out or creating trouble, just on the expectation of being admitted to the Alternate School. There are usually 50 to 60 students on the waiting list for admittance to the Alternate School, and this figure might be much higher except that the length of the list deters many additional referrals.

Any secondary student in the school district can ask to be referred to the Alternate School; referrals are made by school counselors. Prior to a referral being made, an attempt is made to solve the student's problem within the regular school setting. This attempt is made by a team consisting of a psychologist, a social worker, a community liaison, and a staff member in special education. The referral to the Alternate School then represents a last resort for the student. The referral application is reviewed by the Alternate School staff, and then the student, his parents, and teachers in the referring school are contacted by the Alternate School psychologist. The review process verifies that other avenues of solution have been thoroughly explored. The student then visits the Alternate School for interviews with teachers and students. Students admitted generally have personal problems rather than educational problems per se, which have created school discipline problems. Many come from broken homes, are orphans, or have been in contact with the juvenile justice system.

Admissions are set on a fairly strict quota basis to insure that the Alternate School population reflects the school district student population. This has the effect of limiting Chicano enrollment in the Alternate School to 40 or 50%, although as many as 79% of the applicants for any given year have been Chicanos. In balancing its enrollment, then, the Alternate School may not be balancing its proportionate response to need for its services, although quota exceptions are occasionally made on an individual case basis. By maintaining the quota system, however, the school probably helps insure greater cross-sectional community support for its programs.

Another factor which limits the Alternate School's ability to serve students in the Pueblo school district is that, once admitted, the majority of Alternate School students do not want to return to the regular schools. The original intent was that for most students the Alternate School would be a temporary haven where emotional and motivational problems could be worked out in a few months followed by a return to their regular school. Instead, most students resist leaving, and some return to their old behavior when forced out.

The resistance of most students to "mainstreaming" has presented identity problems for the Alternate School. Greater emphasis has had to be placed on academic goals in comparison to short term therapy goals. The staff continues to struggle with the problem and to mainstream as many students as possible. Part-time attendance at both the Alternate School and the regular school have eased the transition back for some students. The relative permanence of other students at the school has had to be accepted; some students are even graduating from the Alternate School, and these students are finding employment in the community.

Human Relations: The Pueblo School District's Human Relations Program is reportedly somewhat unusual, in its part of the country at least, for its virtually exclusive reliance a wide variety of workshops. It is also somewhat unusual in the whole hearted support its extensive schedule of workshops receives from top district management. When the program started several years ago the superintendent attended about 90% of the workshops, and his presence helped to gain wide acceptance for the approach. The superintendent is a strong believer in the workshop approach to opening feelings and communication, and uses the workshops as one way of maintaining personal contact with many people in the district. Although his presence occasionally "puts people more on their guard," his participation is generally welcomed and he still attends a high percentage of the workshops offered.

In the beginning the program's workshops focused more often explicitly on topics of racism and sexism than is now the case. One problem area addressed was the perceived threat the district's implementation of an affirmative action hiring program posed for existing district teaching and administrative staff. Through workshops, fears were brought out in the open and some of the polarization engendered by the hiring program was reduced. Recently workshops have broadened in focus to address problems on a more general human level. Topics addressed have included assertiveness training, leadership style effectiveness, active listening and the development of empathetic classroom skills.

Most of the workshops have been addressed to district teaching and administrative staff, although some have also been conducted among students. The director has a great deal of freedom in setting the direction of the program, and currently there are plans to broaden participation in workshops to additional students and to the community. Workshops offered to the community might address topics such as parent training and assertiveness training for women's groups.

Administration and Staffing

The three individual ESAA programs in Pueblo are not unified under a single administrative head. Each of the three program directors has separate lines of authority to the superintendent. Originally all three programs were under a director of federal projects, but this was judged objectionable because it got to be "a kind of mini-school district" within the Pueblo school district. Now the programs are placed in divisions to which they are functionally related. The Bilingual Program is in the curriculum division. The Alternate School is under supportive services, which also includes special education, gifted, counseling and community liaison. The Human Relations program reports directly to an assistant superintendent. This assistant superintendent also has overall responsibility for supervising the budgets of the three programs, and is in charge of preparing all three programs' proposals.

In the district administrative hierarchy the ESAA program directors are ranked equally with school principals. The director of the Alternate School program, of course, functions much as a principal of a small school. But the director of the Bilingual Program must work on a horizontal level with the principals of all the schools housing his program. The principals differ in the degree to which they support the Bilingual

Program, and each school operates in a slightly different staff and student interaction context. Under these conditions the Bilingual Program director generally tries to be flexible and elicit the cooperation of the school principal, while leaving much of the day to day program management in the school to the principal. The principal evaluates the Bilingual Program staff in his school, except when it is difficult for a monolingual principal to evaluate a bilingual teacher and then assistance is sought from the Bilingual Program director. The Bilingual Program director also monitors overall compliance of the ESAA bilingual activities with the requirements of the ESAA statute and regulations.

Because of the structure of the Bilingual Program, staff-related problems have been more frequent in this area than in Pueblo's other two ESAA funded programs. The Bilingual Program involves the presence in a single classroom of both a monolingual teacher and a bilingual teacher; when a bilingual teacher first "invades" the former exclusive territory of a monolingual teacher, problems often result. Eight of the 13 bilingual teachers during the program's first year of operation reportedly had severe problems with their monolingual counterparts. Problems of this nature have continued as each year the Bilingual Program has invaded new territory by expanding to another grade level.

To begin with, the entrance of the bilingual teacher, especially during the first year of the program, coincided with the district's implementation of an affirmative action plan which threatened many monolingual teachers who feared they were about to be replaced by Chicano teachers. Then there was the problem that the program started late and the arrival of the bilingual teacher tended to disrupt relationships established between children and their monolingual teacher, which, in the lower grades, can be emotional and possessive on both sides. The bilingual teacher's status as an outsider was maintained for several months that first year by the fact that she was away from the classroom several times a week for in-service training. Later, as the bilingual teacher established rapport with children, particularly Chicano children, the monolingual teacher sometimes became jealous.

The presence of another adult in the classroom for the first time also put psychological pressures to perform on the monolingual teacher, and made her feel inadequate that another adult was necessary. For their part, the bilingual teachers were mostly young, relatively inexperienced, and unsure of their roles. The occasional clash of "new" and "old" approaches to teaching was threatening to both sides. The monolingual teacher was primarily in charge, and, with the bilingual teacher having to sometimes defer her classroom activities to those of the monolingual teacher, a feeling of second-class, "teacher's aide" status bothered some bilingual teachers.

Of course, the situation was much better in schools structured as open schools, where team teaching was the rule and an additional staff member caused less disruption. And, with the passage of time, even problems within the traditional school setting have tended to work out. The monolingual teachers get so they like having the extra help in the classroom and appreciate the new teaching methods and ideas brought by the bilingual teachers. The working relationship established between monolingual and bilingual teachers varies according to the personalities involved, ranging from very close and cooperative, to each "doing their own thing."

Emphasis in the Bilingual Program is on the staff becoming integrated with their individual school communities, rather than identifying as a separate program. For the most part this is apparently achieved, but two factors continue to cause problems. One is that no substitute is provided for a bilingual teacher, and yet she is allowed 10 days of sick leave. When the bilingual teacher is sick the monolingual teacher is simply left to cope with the extra work, and this creates some resentment. The second factor is that, although either a bilingual teacher or aide is present at all times in a bilingual classroom, the shortage of bilingual staff has meant that the two are rarely present at the same time. Since supervision of the teacher's aide is the responsibility of the bilingual teacher, the fact that they rarely work together has created planning and coordination problems, despite out-of-class meetings.

There was originally some agitation among militants to place responsibility for Bilingual Program staff hiring in the Chicano community; this was resisted by the school district, but community representation in hiring was granted. Bilingual teaching staff are screened by a bilingual-bicultural committee which has two parents as members and, from the school district, several principals, the director of personnel, the director of elementary education and the Bilingual Program director. Committee hiring recommendations are made to the superintendent and the school board and are usually accepted. One Anglo has been hired as a bilingual teacher; the remaining 29 are of Spanish origin. The Bilingual Program has been a source of minority regular teaching staff, as teachers transfer from the program to regular teaching positions after a period of service. Despite those transfers, most of the teachers in the Bilingual Program now have tenure, and so are not threatened by any potential diminution of support from ESAA.

Hiring of teachers' aides for the Bilingual Program follows a process similar to that used for teachers. Hiring recommendations are made by a smaller committee consisting of two parents, the director of non-certificated personnel, and the director of the Bilingual Program. Most applicants are Spanish surname women with children in the program, and most have high school diplomas. The jobs are extremely popular; recently there were 65 applicants for 28 positions. Some women improve their qualifications and chances for the jobs by serving as unpaid volunteers in the schools prior to applying for a teacher's aide position. The teacher's aide jobs are attractive to the women for their convenient hours as part time jobs and for the salary they provide.

The original staff of the Alternate School consisted of five teachers drawn from the existing district staff and two newly hired teachers. Most of the original staff is still with the program, and their years together have helped weld a cooperative team. All Alternate School teachers now have tenure with the district, and their jobs are not threatened if funding for the program is terminated.

The Human Relations Program has only one full time professional staff member. Originally it was planned that a corps of teacher volunteers would assist in running most workshops, and 28 persons were given special training as "group facilitators." Only 4 or 5 persons are still active in this role, both because it was a demanding one and because it has proved advantageous to bring in outside consultants to run many workshops because of their fresh ideas and superior experience.

Community Involvement

The ESAA Advisory Committee is the primary means of formal community involvement with ESAA programs in Pueblo, although additional committees have been associated with the Bilingual Program. At present there is a bilingual community committee which meets monthly, consisting of a parent representative from each school housing a bilingual program as well as representatives from the district. Formerly there were separate bilingual committees for each school, and these committees undertook activities such as organizing cake sales to pay for additional bicultural materials. These separate committees were abolished because the same small group of parents were doing all the work and it was taking too much of their time.

There is a general, unsolved problem of obtaining more widespread and meaningful community involvement in the ESAA funded programs. Last year a community meeting was held to discuss the ESAA proposal and two people showed up. This year an optimistic estimate of 12 persons is expected at the same meeting.

Community participation through the ESAA Advisory Committee is complicated by federal guidelines regulating membership. These guidelines dictate that there must be equal numbers of nonminority group members and members of each substantial minority group in the community. Also, at least five civic and community organizations must be designated to select committee members, and half of the membership must be parents (including, in Pueblo, one or two parents of students enrolled in the Alternate School.

filling, without exceeding, all of these quotas leads to a great deal of rigidity in committee membership. District officials responsible for putting the committee together wish that guidelines could be more flexible on quotas, so that other qualities, such as enthusiasm and interest, could be taken into account more often in filling committee slots.

The rigidities and complexities involved in meeting all the committee membership quotas recently caused a controversy in Pueblo. The issue arose when a Chicano minority individual was turned down for membership because his presence would have caused the committee to exceed its minority quota, and the committee had voted not to increase its size by adding another majority member for balance. Complicating the issue were such factors as the distribution of organizational representation on the committee, and the presence of a black member who represented an organization and was not counted as a minority because blacks are not a substantial minority in Pueblo. The controversy became heated and was referred to the federal level by one of the parties. Federal officials declined involvement in the controversy but chastised the committee for having two year terms while ESAA provided only one year funding.

The whole issue, and the federal response to it, was viewed ironically by some committee members who saw the real problem as not membership quotas but committee function: since the committee had nothing to do why fight over who would do it? There is dissatisfaction among some members not only with the committee's lack of power, but also with the constraints on its advisory capacity; there usually is insufficient time for members to learn enough about a plan or issue to advise on it. The two year terms had provided members with a continuity of experience on which to base some advisory expertise, but this was then denied by the federal one year term mandate. Committee members are now given one year terms but "encouraged" to serve a second year. Still, there is a feeling that, out of ignorance, the committee doesn't really advise---it just listens and gives "rubber stamp" approval. The district is seen as "just going through the motions to meet the requirements," because even if individual committee members are willing, the district personnel don't have the time to work with them to provide the information necessary to obtain meaningful committee advisory involvement.

Several years ago, however, the school district did acquiesce to ESAA Advisory Committee advice on an important matter. The Advisory Committee had visited alternate schools in Denver which didn't have directors, and influential, liberal committee members decided that the Pueblo Alternate School shouldn't have a director either during its first year of operation. From the school district point of view, at least, this decision was a disaster. Personality clashes among teachers, and inconsistency in teaching approaches in the absence of leadership greatly complicated getting the school started. During its second year of operation the Alternate School had a director.

Reportedly, the only functional task the ESAA Advisory Committee ever undertook was the distribution of grants in the Mini-Programs. The Mini-Programs were funded with a little more than $2000 in ESAA funds. Individual teachers would submit applications for the grants, which generally were in the amount of $100 and were used for the purchase of materials to support special projects. Mini-Programs funded photography in the Alternate School, Mexican folk dancing, and a class project on rockets, among other projects in the schools. Projects directed at the community were also funded, such as guitar lessons and cooking classes. Minority students and their community benefited from most Mini-Programs. While the ESAA Advisory Committee decided which applications should be funded, the program was administered through the Director of Affirmative Action's office. The Mini-Programs were discontinued this year because they were taking too much of the Affirmative Action office's administrative time, and because it was felt that applications submitted had become trivial.

Perceptions of ESAA

In Pueblo there are differing perceptions of the major ESAA programs on the public level and on the school district level. As far as the public is concerned, the Bilingual Program is controversial. It is thought that the average Anglo considers the program a waste of money, while the average Chicano thinks it is a step in the right direction but could be handled much better. The Anglo community accepts the program because it is perceived as being funded by outside sources, primarily state funds, and has been sold to them as a temporary program. They are not generally aware of the federal funding, let alone the substantial financial contribution made by the school district, and don't recognize that the program is relatively permanent. The school district has no planned termination date for the Bilingual Program, because it is not considered controversial by the school board. The school board is reportedly prepared to commit the district to funding the entire program, if necessary, for an indefinate period of time. This is probably because the Bilingual Program has a substantial political constituency in Pueblo's Chicano community.

Lacking the Bilingual Program's constituency, the Alternate School is considered controversial within the school district, while the public does not view it as controversial because they are not very aware of it. Many district administrators and teachers view the Alternate School as "mollycoddling" troublemakers who should be handled more firmly; the Alternate School "pampers drug addicts." Although the school board probably could afford to continue the Alternate School without ESAA funds, it is not at all clear that they would choose to do so at the present time.

The Human Relations Program is not considered controversial, however. To begin with, it is relatively small. It is accepted within the school district because of the superintendent's avid support. The public has had little contact with the program so far.

Among perceptions of federal administration of the ESAA program, communication difficulty was the most important topic. Specifically, Pueblo school district officials reported that they were unhappy about their experience at a recent ESAA proposal technical assistance workshop. The regular regional federal office people were away, and the workshop was run by people from other Federal regional offices who knew little about the school districts involved, the special conditions of the region, and, apparently, the ESAA rules and regulations. Questions about ESAA administrative procedures were answered with evasions. Clarification was requested of a very welcome recent reform which obviates the necessity for resubmitting information in proposals if there has been no "substantial change." "Substantial change" was defined so conservatively by the federal officials present that the reform was rendered useless, however.

In defense, federal regional officials point out that the ESAA legislation is very complex and has been rewritten often. Disagreements over interpretation are inevitable, and varying interpretations from region to region can result. Caution and strict interpretation protect against later charges of inconsistency, according to these officials. The problem of inconsistent advice was one issue prompting HEW's recent centralization of regional functions.

Pueblo school district officials have generally been happy about their interactions with the regional office, but they fear that the workshop experience noted above is only a preview of problems they will encounter under centralization. They feel that it has always been difficult to find someone to communicate with on a consistent basis in Washington, and that the information obtained there is usually vague. With centralization, they fear that they will never get definitive answers. They also fear that proposal review will be centralized, and that readers who don't know the Southwest will misapply ESAA regulations that were written primarily for the South, and bilingual regulations that were written primarily for border states. Previously, for example, persons in the regional office could understand why Pueblo needed a bilingual program even though it had essentially no Spanish monolingual students.

Two other ESAA administrative issues which have loomed large elsewhere are of relatively minor importance in Pueblo. Late funding notification has presented no significant problems, because most ESAA program teaching jobs are tenured and positions within the programs are set in advance. Several good candidates for bilingual teaching jobs have been lost to other districts, however, because Pueblo would not commit a new position until funding notification had been received. Multi-year funding would probably be welcomed by Pueblo, but there is some recognition that that type of funding can generate difficulties in contract monitoring as the funding agency becomes concerned about the bigger chunk of money involved and demands further program justification at the end of the second year.

CRA-Title IV

The Pueblo school district has received Title IV assistance through direct LEA grants each year from 1974 to the present, through a Title IV General Assistance Center (GAC) and through a Title IV Training Institute (TI). The GAC is located at Weber State College in Ogden, Utah, and has served Pueblo since 1975. The TI, which deals solely with sex discrimination issues, has been funded since 1976. During its first year the TI operated from Colorado Women's College in Denver and during its second year out of the Denver branch of the University of Colorado. The following discussion will focus first on the LEA grants, next on the GAC, and then on the TI. The section will conclude with a discussion of program interactions and respondents' perceptions of Title IV guidelines and structure.

Title IV LEA Grants

Annual LEA funding received by Pueblo under Title IV has typically been in the $30,000-$40,000 range and has been used to support an affirmative action director in the school district. The first Title IV proposal, for the 1974-75 school year, was written by the district's assistant superintendent for Federal programs. In subsequent years, the proposal has been a joint effort by the assistant superintendent for Federal programs and the affirmative action director.

The affirmative action program was initiated to reduce growing conflict and tension between Chicano and Anglo students, parents, teachers, and administrators by increasing minority representation on the district staff. The affirmative action office was originally staffed by a full-time person with the title of Advisory Specialist. During the first year of the program (1974-75), his main tasks were troubleshooting and developing a long-range affirmative action plan for the district. The latter task was given added impetus in December, 1974, when the Office for Civil Rights cited the district for noncompliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, stating that one area of noncompliance was the recruitment, employment, and assignment of minority personnel.

To assist in drafting the affirmative action plan, an advisory committee was formed, with representatives from various community organizations, including NAACP, La Raza, and the League of Women Voters. Creating a committee from such diverse organizations meant that a very broad range of opinions were involved, and it was only after long and heated committee debate, which often spilled over into the community and the media, that a plan was developed. In the school year 1975-76, a compromise plan that few liked was approved by the committee and then by the district and OCR.

Since the first year, the program's focus has shifted to include sex and handicapped discrimination issues, as well as racial and ethnic discrimination. Responsibilities of the Affirmative Action Director (upgraded from Specialist in 1975) have included the following:

- Sponsoring and organizing workshops for students, staff, and community members on affirmative action, discrimination, leadership, school discipline, and so on (some of the workshops are co-sponsored by ESAA or the Weber State College GAC)
- Disseminating information on Title IX, Section 504, and affirmative action to district staff
- Compiling employment profile, and student ethnic and racial statistics, including OCR's 101 and 102 survey forms
- Assisting in the resolution of civil rights complaints
- Assisting the personnel office in interviewing and selecting applicants
- Assisting in drawing up guidelines and reports on various issues related to non-discrimination

Partly because the office's activities have been interwoven with both ESAA and GAC activities, it is felt that the Title IV LEA monies have been used very effectively. The program's effectiveness is also attributed to the strong capability of the individual selected as Affirmative Action Director and to the continuing strong support given the program by the superintendent. Although there is disagreement in the community about the district's success in dealing with affirmative action concerns, district administrators generally feel that the district "has come a long way" and that the affirmative action office has helped speed the process. Some respondents noted that, having served as a catalyst to initiate affirmative action, the program may soon be phased into other offices (for example, the personnel office), and Title IV funding would then no longer be needed.

Title IV General Assistance Center

The Title IV General Assistance Center (GAC) located at Weber State College in Ogden, Utah, first received funding as a GAC in July 1975, following a decision by a GAC at the University of Northern Colorado not to reapply for Title IV funding. The GAC is mandated to serve school districts in Region VIII, consisting of Utah, Colorado, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming. The GAC's current staff is six professionals and three full-time support persons, plus a number of students and about 100 consultants. The annual budget is approximately $400,000.

As described in their overview brochure, the purpose of the Weber State GAC is to "assist public school districts with planning, developing, and evaluating programs that reduce racial isolation and eliminate sex bias." Within this context, Weber State's focus during the first year of operation (school year 1975-76) was on gaining the trust and cooperation of school districts. One GAC respondent noted that the program staff have had to emphasize to districts that the GAC is not related to OCR, that it enters the district only at the district's invitation, and that it leaves when it is no longer wanted. The staff have also had to combat district suspicions that the program is "ivory tower" in nature.

In the second half of the program's first year of operation, the Weber State GAC began to work substantively with some districts, helping them to plan and implement programs to reduce racial segregation and sex discrimination. Districts were initially informed about this GAC service through brochures, newsletters, and visits to LEAs and SEAs. Currently, the GAC sends monthly newsletters to all superintendents of the approximately 2,000 districts in Region VIII and to other district and state education administrators. In addition, a program forecast is published every other month informing superintendents, ESAA directors, and others of the GAC's planned activities.

Three major types of activities are performed to serve district needs. They are:

- Sponsored projects, developed and implemented by the district, with GAC guidance and funding. (To apply for assistance for such projects, districts must submit a letter of request stating the "need areas, purpose and objectives of the project, its expected outcome, proposed method of evaluation, and other important information." Sponsored projects to date have included the areas of multicultural education, curriculum development, needs assessment, school/parent training, and (in Pueblo) criterion reference testing.)
- "Canned" workshops, on such topics as cultural awareness, leadership techniques, multicultural curriculum development, community relations, proposal and grant writing, discipline, and assertiveness training.
- Demonstration centers, established in desegregating districts that demonstrate a serious commitment to the GAC's goals. GAC projects in these districts are used as models for other nearby school districts. The centers serve as a means of developing credibility for the GAC and of disseminating ideas and techniques for dealing with desegregation-related issues.

The GAC deals with about 50 districts each year, including about 12 high-priority districts. GAC assignments are made on the basis of subject matter expertise. The GAC has at least one staff member with expertise in each of the following six areas: Management and Administration, Curriculum, Research and Evaluation, Multicultural Education, Indian Affairs, and Women's Rights.

The GAC began working with Pueblo in 1975, when the GAC director visited the district to assist in the development of the affirmative action plan. In the view of GAC respondents, this initial contact served to establish Pueblo's trust in GAC capabilities. Since that time, assistance has been provided in a variety of areas, such as ESAA proposal preparation, Hispanic culture and communication, evaluation and needs assessment instrumentation, and criterion reference testing. Assistance in these areas has been provided through consultations, one-shot workshops, and year-long programs that include a series of workshops and activities in the schools. On many occasions, the GAC's support has been provided in conjunction with ESAA, the district's Title IV program, or the Title IV Training Institute in Denver. For example, the GAC provided consultants and workshop leaders for activities funded by ESAA $100 mini-grants to individual schools. The GAC also helped the district evaluate its Title IX program for the TI.

Respondents in both the GAC and the district feel that the two groups work well together. GAC sources feel that Pueblo district leadership is genuinely committed to minority and women's rights, and has not attempted to by-pass major areas of need. District sources report that the GAC has been very responsive to Pueblo's requests, and that the leadership at the GAC is particularly impressive. They noted, however, that GAC staff visits to Pueblo have not been as frequent as Pueblo administrators would have liked, that some of the consultants provided were not as skillful as they might have been, and that there were one or two occasions when a person from the GAC did not arrive when he was supposed to. Despite these difficulties, one respondent said, "The GAC generally has been nothing but good."

Title IV Training Institute

The TI was first funded through Colorado Women's College in 1976-77 for $65,660. The following year, 1977-78, the group was funded through the University of Colorado at Denver for $161,480. Calling itself the Institute for Equality in Education, the TI provides school districts in Colorado with training, consulting, and resources regarding sex discrimination. Currently, the TI serves 21 districts, out of a total of 181 in the state. Last year (1976-77), 14 districts were served. The TI is staffed by six professionals and two support persons, plus a number of consultants.

Districts are informed of the TI and its services through letters to superintendents and Title IX coordinators. In addition, a limited number of districts are contacted personally. Unlike the more individualized approach of the GAC, the TI's efforts consist largely of a structured program of workshops. The institute has divided the state into four regions and has workshops from one to three days long in each region several times each year. Districts are encouraged to send at least three individuals, representing a variety of levels in the school district (e.g., administrators, teachers, counselors). Workshop sessions in the fall, 1977, attempted to increase participants' awareness of sex stereotyping and discrimination generally and, more specifically, of Title IX requirements. Participants were then sent back to their districts to design projects to deal with individual district needs regarding sex discrimination. In the spring of 1978, workshops dealt with specific skills and techniques regarding changing attitudes and employment techniques. Each participant was asked to select a group in their own district and to provide in-service training for this group. TI staff hope that ultimately these district teams will become resource persons within their districts.

On request, the TI staff also visit some individual districts that are participating in the workshops to provide consulting services in the following areas:

- Administrative policies and procedures
- Title IX regulations
- Affirmative action
- Inservice training
- Curriculum
- Classroom techniques

Resources provided include books, pamphlets, articles, films, bibliographies, and posters. The TI also distributes a newsletter three or four times a year that informs districts of the progress of projects being performed by district participants, the status and progress of women nationally, and nonsexist resources available from the TI, the Federal government, or elsewhere.

The TI's involvement with Pueblo began in the current (1977-78) school year. Several Pueblo representatives, including the Affirmative Action Director and the ESAA-supported Human Relations Director, attended the TI's workshops throughout the year and worked on sex discrimination projects in the district during the interim periods. One of these projects is an evaluation of the district's Title IX program, coordinated by the Affirmative Action Director.

TI respondents felt that the Pueblo participants have been very receptive to and enthusiastic about the Institute's activities and ideas. One respondent explained, "They feel good about their district. They see there are needs, but they feel they can fill them." TI respondents believed, furthermore, that a major reason for the Pueblo participants' enthusiasm is that the superintendent has supported the Title IX projects and has given the participants considerable freedom of action. In contrast, participants from some of the other districts have been enthusiastic initially but have met with much resistance when they tried to implement their ideas in their district. Pueblo respondents saw ther contact with the TI to date as minimal but felt that the workshops have been useful, interesting, and well run.

Title IV Program Interactions

There has been frequent communication between Pueblo's Title IV LEA program (the Affirmative Action Office) and the GAC, since the Affirmative Action Director coordinates all GAC activities in the district. Less communication seems to have taken place between the LEA program and the TI because the district has made less extensive use of this service. Interactions between the GAC and the TI also appear to be infrequent, though the two groups do keep track of the districts in which each is working, and the TI director reported attending a number of GAC workshops.

Although the HEW Region VIII office in Denver has been helpful to the TI and the GAC, Pueblo's Title IV LEA program has not obtained much information or guidance from the regional office. One district source associated with the Title IV LEA program was unsure whether or not the regional program officer dealt with Title IV at all, because the program officer seemed to know little about Title IV guidelines.

The TI staff view the regional officers as knowledgeable and helpful, although they noted that the regional staff often have to check with Washington staff to obtain information or policy guidance, and that this has sometimes been a problem. The GAC has also found the regional staff to be useful, and before the impending centralization to Washington began to preoccupy regional staff members, the two groups had daily contact. At the time of our interviews, shortly before the centralization took place, contact had declined to once a week or less. GAC staff anticipated that the centralized staff would have less familiarity with the local programs than the regionalized staff had had, and that they would therefore be less useful. It was also expected that there would be more paperwork because of the centralization and less verbal communication.

Apart from district contacts with the OCR office in Washington (to be described in the section on OCR), the three Title IV groups discussed here have had little contact with the OE office in Washington. This seems to be in part because contact with the regional staff is more convenient and in part because the Washington staff are perceived as being out of touch with local conditions.

Perceptions of Title IV

A number of respondents saw Title IV as a kind of step-child, largely because its budget is much smaller than ESAA's (about $35 million compared to about $240 million). The budget differential has meant that regional office staff focus less attention on Title IV and thus tend to be less knowledgeable about it. One regional staff member remarked that the office "probably has not given grantees a clear picture of Title IV because we don't have a clear picture ourselves." This person felt that time constraints and the "loose administration" of Title IV have prevented regional staff from becoming more familiar with the program.

Similarly, one district respondent noted that it is not always clear who should be contacted for information about Title IV guidelines and funding. Knowing who to talk to is especially important, this person claimed, because the guidelines are rather vague and informal changes are made each year in program emphases. Although the guidelines may allow a particular activity, the respondent believes the annual emphasis has a strong influence on whether a proposal for that activity is actually funded; unless a district is informed about current program emphases, its chances for submitting a winning proposal are diminished.

In discussing program focus, some respondents mentioned that they felt both ESAA and Title IV are not well designed for the needs of the rural West. For example, it was argued that high priority issues of the West, such as geographically-based racial isolation and extremely high staff turn-over rates, are not highlighted for attention under the program. There is also a sense that the very focus on desegregation is indicative of the programs' lack of sensitivity to the West, since the racial problems there, it is claimed, often have little to do with segregation. (In Pueblo, for instance, "moving bodies" has never been a real issue).

Apart from these regional considerations, most respondents seemed to believe that Title IV's focus is appropriate. However, one respondent argued that the program might be more effective if it dealt with more specific issues, and a second felt that the emphasis should be placed more directly on children.

Respondents were divided on whether adding sex discrimination (Title IX) issues to Title IV's concerns has helped or hindered the racial discrimination effort. Some respondents suggested that the addition of Title IX has led to a dilution of effort in race discrimination. Other respondents argued that the two issues complement one another, that a district's activities in one area tend to make it more amenable to activities in the other area. "After all," one respondent noted, "sex discrimination and race discrimination are pretty much the same thing. The issue is equal education for all."

While none of the respondents suggested that any of the various types of Title IV grants should be discontinued, district sources noted that the existence of four grant categories and the geographic dispersion of Title IV grantees create coordination difficulties for districts, make obtaining assistance inconvenient, and necessitate expensive travel by assistance teams. Regional EEO sources also saw problems in the multiplicity of grantee types because there tends to be considerable overlap of services provided by TIs, GACs, and Title IV-funded SEA groups. It was suggested, however, that the new Title IV regulations, which were expected to restrict the amount of substantive training performed by GACs and SEAs, would alleviate this difficulty.

Both TI and GAC sources believed that the TIs' focus on a small number of districts and their geographical proximity to these districts were advantageous for providing assistance. One GAC respondent felt the GAC's effectiveness would be enhanced by similar restrictions. Another argued that the larger GAC service area gave the advantage of having a wider range of expertise and a concomitant ability to deal with a greater diversity of problems.

In regard to LEA grants, EEO sources suggested the grants were so small that most districts could probably perform the Title IV projects with their own funds and that the LEA portion of Title IV funds might therefore be more effective if allocated to fewer districts. District sources did not respond to this point directly, but their belief that the community would oppose the use of local funds for desegregation purposes suggests that even small desegregation projects may require Federal funding.

The most serious difficulties seen with Title IV involve funding, including the length and timing of the funding cycle, the level of funding, and the evaluation criteria for funding. Of these, respondents were most dissatisfied with the length of the funding cycle. Without exception, respondents believed the funding cycle should be longer than one year. They find the one-year cycle "frustrating," anxiety-producing, "ridiculous," wasteful, expensive, and destructive of long-range planning. Two respondents volunteered that multi-year projects would actually be easier to monitor effectively than single-year projects, because without the annual proposals to review, more time would be available for monitoring. Secondly, if problems were found, there would be time to make changes before the program ended. And thirdly, multi-year programs would be apt to be more realistic, because there is a tendency to try to cram too much into the single-year programs.

Respondents were also in agreement that the proposal deadlines, and particularly the notification dates, should be earlier in the school year. The current notification date of June exacerbates staff-turnover problems and, especially for the GACs and TIs, necessitates a rush to have the program in full operation by fall. Some respondents also noted that the current lag time between proposal submission and notification of funding seems excessive. They are hopeful that centralization will lead to a shortened review period.

The TI staff felt that their funding level generally enabled them to meet the demands placed on them by the districts they serve. GAC and LEA grantees, however, argued that there were many needs that had gone unmet because of insufficient funds. LEA sources would have liked to see more consultants, more technical assistance, and more intra-district research on racial issues. GAC sources would have liked to be able to respond more quickly to districts' needs and to serve a larger number of districts. We were told the GAC had to limit itself to those districts where probability of success was highest, and even within this limitation it was felt that the staff were "spread too thinly." District sources, too, noted that GAC staff were not able to visit Pueblo as often as desirable.

GAC sources argued that funding levels should be influenced more strongly by the size of the geographic area to be served by the GAC as well as by the number of minority group children in the region. They argued that the relatively high costs of traveling among Region VIII's geographically dispersed districts currently are not adequately taken into account in funding determinations and that this unjustly penalizes Weber State. The TI, with a smaller area of responsibility, did not share this concern, although two other concerns about funding criteria were noted. One was that past performance is not taken into account, so that a group that does not perform well but nevertheless writes good proposals may continue to be funded year after year. The other concern was that considerable emphasis in proposal reviews is placed on a well-designed evaluation plan, in spite of the fact that evaluations are (reportedly) typically ignored; the one-year funding cycle and the absence of past performance as a funding criterion enhance the probability that effort and funds devoted to planning evaluations will be wasted.

Despite these concerns, respondents generally seemed to feel that Title IV is a worthwhile program. Although funding levels are very low compared to ESAA and other Federal categorical programs, the support does provide districts with encouragement to face rather than avoid racial and sex discrimination issues.

The Office for Civil Rights (OCR)

Activities

The Pueblo school district is within the jurisdiction of the Region VIII OCR office, located in Denver. The Elementary and Secondary Education Branch in Denver is staffed by seven professionals, including the director, and one clerical person. This staff is responsible for all school districts in Colorado, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, and Wyoming.

Professional staff are assigned to cases on the basis of availability, seniority, and substantive area. Generally, the more senior staff are given heavier workloads and leadership roles, and an attempt is made to pair senior with junior staff members on each assignment so that the newer staff members can receive on-the-job training.

Most of the staff's time is reportedly spent responding to complaints, but a considerable time is also spent monitoring districts for compliance with federal civil rights requirements. Monitored districts are selected jointly by the Washington, D.C. staff and the Region VIII staff, largely on the basis of the number of complaints submitted in the past.

OCR problems as seen by the regional staff include the following:

- The Region VIII office is "terribly understaffed"
- Policy guidance on Title IX (women's rights) has been promised by the Washington office but has not yet been delivered. (The Title IV Training Institute and GAC staffs strongly echoed the need for these policy decisions.)
- The current requirement that the regional offices clear "everything"through the Washington office and/or the Office of General Counsel (OGC) is "not in the best interest of anyone."
- The coordination process with OGC is cumbersome and time-consuming. Also, the OGC attorney assigned to OCR changes often, leading to serious continuity problems. The regional (elementary and secondary education) director recently attempted to hire an attorney for his own staff but was unable to do so since all HEW legal counsel must come from OGC.

- The 101 and 102 OCR survey forms for school districts are "still too cumbersome." The detailed sampling procedures that districts are required to follow are too difficult for school personnel, and the forms' complexity makes for a high probability that errors will be made. In addition, "all of this effort doesn't give OCR conclusive proof of anything." Not surprisingly, Pueblo administrators with responsibility for the forms are also critical of them. Last year, it was claimed, 22 of 29 schools' forms contained at least one mistake (e.g., in computation or internal consistency). Another difficulty is that "the principals hate them and don't take them seriously." And even if there are no substantial changes from year to year in any parts of the form, the entire instrument must be completed. Finally, district administrators charge that the information submitted is probably never used.
- Communications within OCR, both horizontally and vertically, are inadequate.

The organization's strength is seen by the regional OCR staff to be in "the dedication of some of the staff" and not in the organization or operation of the agency.

Involvement with Pueblo

OCR's major involvement with Pueblo began the fall of 1972, when Washington OCR staff conducted a review of the district's compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Two years later, in October 1974, a second visit was made. In December 1974, the district received the product of those two visits: a letter stating that OCR had "determined that your district is currently in noncompliance with Title VI. . . ." OCR had determined noncompliance in four areas:

1) "Neglect to rectify the language deficiencies of children who are non-English language dominant"
2) "Recruitment, employment, and assignment of minority personnel"
3) "Assignment of children to homogeneously grouped classes" (i.e., homogeneous ability groupings)

4) "Assignment of students to classes for the educable mentally retarded (limited intellectual functioning)"

Upon receipt of the letter, Pueblo district administrators met with OCR regional staff in Denver for clarification of numerous points. Believing however, that the regional staff did not provide adequate answers to their questions, the district administrators travelled to Washington D.C., for a meeting with central office OCR officials. The visitors came away from this meeting still confused and frustrated by what they felt was an unwillingness on the part of OCR to provide them with open, direct answers to their questions. They were resentful of what they perceived as belittling and arrogant manner of the individuals with whom they dealt. Moreover, OCR was reportedly unable to provide them with models or sources of potential help in devising a plan to achieve compliance, nor would the Office tell them precisely what would be acceptable.

Over the next 11 months, district administrators worked on the compliance plan, sending pieces of it to OCR in Washington as they were completed. This, too, was a frustrating period for district administrators: "Every time we submitted one piece of information they'd ask for something else." From the district's point of view, the "last straw" occurred when OCR demanded that Pueblo exchange a minority and a non-minority administrator in two schools. With the concurrence of the regional OCR office, Pueblo refused, and district administrators went to Washington for a second time. (By this time, one administrator reported, Pueblo had instituted a number of major changes, including an affirmative action program, parent due process, and multi-faceted student assessments for placement in programs.) The Washington meeting included Congressional representatives as well as Pueblo and OCR staff. Evidently, little was resolved and the Pueblo group remained frustrated. Subsequently, however, OCR dropped the requirement of transferring the two school administrators. Finally, in November, 1975, the district received notice that its compliance plan, as amended in various pieces of correspondence over the months, was acceptable to OCR.

In addition to those elements noted above, the compliance plan included bilingual and language enrichment programs to meet the requirements established under Lau. Bilingual teachers were added to the faculty, with the effect both of increasing minority representation on the staff and reducing student-teacher ratios. Specific criteria were established for placement of children in and movement out of classes grouped homogeneously according to student ability. And a record-keeping system was instituted to keep track of the upward movement of minority children.

Despite their complaints about the OCR process, district administrators were unanimous in their belief that "the district is a better corporation now" than it was before OCR entered the picture. Some claimed that the district eventually would have made the same achievements on its own, but all admitted that the process would have taken a great deal longer without OCR demands. District administrators also largely agreed that most of OCR's charges were valid. However, OCR evidently made some charges that it was never able to substantiate. For example, one of the charges in the December 1974 letter to the district was that "substantial numbers of [Spanish-surnamed students in the district] cannot speak English well enough to perform adequately in courses taught in English." In fact, as a regional OCR staff person reported, "Pueblo is very unusual in its low number of monolingual children (types A and B under the Lau guidelines)." There was a widespread feeling among district administrators that "OCR was willing to believe the worst about the district" and therefore accepted at face value charges leveled against the district by its critics. In this regard, regional OCR staff reported that in the past two years they have investigated activists' complaints about Pueblo and have found the program to be better than they had expected. Consequently, they said, they now give less credence to the complaints from this group.

District respondents charged that the OCR staff with whom they dealt during the period the compliance plan was being developed "seemed to be responsible to no one and for nothing. There was no due process; they came in, made snap decisions, and left." OCR regional staff with whom we talked (who were not involved with the compliance plan negotiations until near the end) agreed that the OCR representatives might have been more flexible.

In contrast, the current relationship between Pueblo and the regional OCR office is said by both parties to be excellent. District officials feel that this is due both to the fairness and open-mindedness of the present regional director and to the high quality of Pueblo's compliance plan. One administrator told us that OCR now uses Pueblo's plan as an examplary solution. For their part, regional OCR respondents reported that Pueblo has been a very good district to deal with: "They are very cooperative, and they are much more prompt than many others." One OCR spokesman also told us, "The superintendent is one of the best I know. He really cares about kids."

District administrators offered a variety of suggestions for ways in which they felt OCR might become a more effective agency and/or more helpful to school districts. Two respondents expressed a desire for more information from OCR about how a district should go about achieving compliance with Title VI. One of these respondents suggested that the best way of providing such assistance might be simply to provide lists of other districts with similar problems and issues. Information obtained from other districts, it was felt, would have more credibility than that obtained directly from OCR, due to the adversary nature of the relationship between OCR and school districts.

Other district administrators suggested that OCR might be more effective if it had a better understanding of local conditions. One person felt that the agency needed to spend more time in the districts in order to understand "what was actually happening." To do this, it was argued, OCR needs a larger staff and a high quality staff. Another respondent advocated closer relations between OCR and State Education Agencies as a means of better understanding local conditions.

One administrator, as well as a staff person in the HEW regional office, suggested that OCR might benefit from providing its staff with in-service training in communication skills. In reference to the same problem--communication--a second suggestion was that OCR "open things up." It would be very helpful to districts, this person argued, if everyone had a common understanding of acceptable OCR functions and procedures.

V. OVERVIEW

In the preceding sections, Pueblo's history of ethnic relations and school desegregation has been outlined; the roles of ESAA, Title IV, and OCR have been described, and respondents' perceptions of these programs have been discussed.

Pueblo differs significantly from the other four sites visited, and from many other desegregation settings in the United States, in that the parties to school desegregation in Pueblo are, in many respects, much less far apart. To begin with, skin colors are much closer in hue, and, although there are differences between Pueblo's Chicano and Anglo cultures, these differences are not great. Pueblo's Chicanos are not recent immigrants; for the most part they have been residents of the United States for several generations, so considerable assimilation has taken place. The lesser differences between the two groups do not mean that Pueblo has not had a desegregation problem, but they do mean that the process of solving that problem has been somewhat easier. Changes in the Pueblo schools for purposes of desegregation have generally been made with negligible confrontation and upset, especially when compared with areas where the same process has involved blacks and whites.

The spark that has set off conflagration in many areas, namely the busing of children away from their neighborhood schools, has never been struck in Pueblo. Although the city has some elementary schools with very high percentages of Chicano children, there has been no significant agitation to disperse these school populations. Agitation has focused on increasing minority representation in school district staffing and on improving and enriching academic programs in the barrio elementary schools. The barrio communities seem to value their neighborhood schools. Perhaps because the two groups, Anglos and Chicanos, are relatively alike, the advantages to be obtained from forcible mixing are not so compellingly apparent.

Bilingual education has played an important role in facilitating the desegregation process in Pueblo, and ESAA funds have been critically important in establishing and maintaining the program. Their role is not widely recognized by the Pueblo public, however, which thinks of the program as being state funded. ESAA funding currently provides only about a third of the Bilingual Education program budget, but entirely funds an Alternate School program in the district. The Alternate School program has also been highly successful--too successful for its own good, in some respects; the problem students whom it serves do not want to leave, limiting the number that can be helped. A third ESAA funded program, staff-oriented human relations workshops, has received wide acceptance within the school district.

A Title IV LEA grant has been used by Pueblo to support an affirmative action director. The director's activities have been interwoven with those of the ESAA, GAC and Training Institute programs, and there is a general perception that effective progress in affirmative action has been made. Pueblo's GAC is located in Utah, and the assistance it has provided has been well received in the district. The relationship with the TI located in Denver has also been positive. Although contacts between Pueblo and the TI have not been extensive, the school district has impressed the TI staff with their receptivity to training goals.

In contrast, Pueblo's relationship with OCR has generally been poor. (Although within the past two years the district has been on good terms with the OCR Regional Office in Denver.) Particularly frustrating to the school district was OCR's inability or unwillingness, after citing noncompliance, to indicate either the method or nature of a satisfactory correction. It also was felt that OCR tended to make adamant judgments on the basis of inadequate investigation. The compliance process was eventually resolved to the satisfaction of both parties, however, and in retrospect school district officials feel that their district is much improved as a result. A lesson seems to be that OCR might deploy improved diplomatic and communication skills to minimize the adversary aspect of negotiations with school districts.